The Life of Muhammad

(P.B.U.H)

By

Mohammad Husayn Haykal

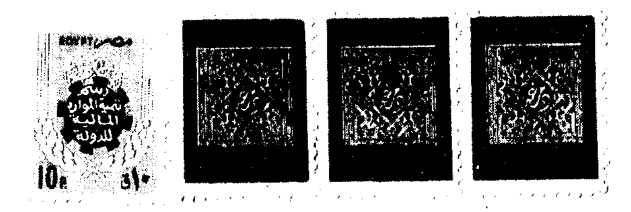
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IN THE NAME OF ALLAH,MOST GRACIOUS,MOST MERCIFUL

AL-AZHAR
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May Allah peace be upon you, Then with reference to your request concerning reviewing and inspecting The Life of The Prophet Muhammad (P.b.u.H) By M. H. HeikL II
We testify that the above mentioned book does not contradict with the Islamic Creed and there is no Prohibition of Printing it on your own expenses, With necessity of taking Care in Printing the Qur'anic verses and Prophetic Traditions.

Trans. Depat.
Diaa

General Manager

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Contents (II)

13

The Great Battle of Badr

The expedition of 'Abdullah ibn Jahsh constitued the cross-***roads*** of Islamic policy. It was the occasion when Waqid ibn 'Abdullah al Tamimi shot an arrow at 'Amr ibn al Hadrami and killed him, thus shedding blood by a Muslim hand for the first time. It was in regard to this sortie that the Qur'ānic verses constituting the Islamic position on war and fighting were revealed. And it was in consequence of this Revelation that fighting was permitted, but only against those who seek to compel the Muslims to renounce their religion and who stand in the way of calling men unto Allah. The same expedition constituted also the crossroads of Muslim policy toward Quraysh, for it now opened the door for the two parties to compete in military power and strength as they had done formerly in word and idea. It was after that expedition that the Muslims began to think seriously of extracting their goods from Quraysh by force and conquest. The Quraysh saw in this an opportunity to stir up the whole peninsula against Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions, and therefore accused them of the most heinous crime in the eyes of all Arabs, namely the desecration of the holy months. In the resultant situation, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) became convinced that there was no

more hope of reaching any kind of agreement with them. Toward the beginning of autumn of the second year A.H., Abū Sufyan led a great caravan toward al Sham. It was this trade which the Muslims had previously threatened when the Prophet (P.B.U.H) joined the expedition to al 'Ushayrah in person. When the Muslims reached that locality, the caravan of Abū Sufyan had passed two days earlier. The Muslims decided to withdraw and wait for the caravan's return. When that time came and the caravan was supposedly in the vicinity of Madinah, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) sent Talhah ibn 'Ubaydullah and Sa'id ibn Zayd to reconnoitre its whereabouts. The two men ran in the direction of the usual trade route and arrived at the campsite of Kashd al Juhaniy in al Hawrā'. There, they hid until the caravan passed. They returned quickly to Madinah in order to give Muhammad (P.B.U.H) the information he asked for.

The Muslims Mobilize for Badr

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) did not await the return of his two messengers from al Hawrā'. He had already heard that the caravan in question was a very large one and that practically all the Makkans were involved in the trade it carried since all Makkan capitalists had already bought a share in it. The goods the caravan carried were estimated at 50,000 dinars. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) feared that if he were to await the news of his two messengers, the caravan would pass him by on its return to Makkah as it had passed him by on. its northward trip to Syria earlier. Consequently, he called the Muslims together and addressed them in the following words: "Yonder is the caravan of Quraysh. Mobilize your forces and seek to capture it. Perhaps Allah may give it to you as booty." Some Muslims responded and others did not. Some non-Muslims were anxious to join, but Muhammad (P.B.U.H) prevented them from doing so until they had believed in Allah and his Prophet. (P.B.U.H)

Abū Sufyān's Messenger to Quraysh

On the other side, Abū Sufyan had also heard of Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) sortie to intercept his caravan on its way north to al Sham, and he was equally apprehensive that the Muslims would again attempt to do so on his return. He therefore sought to learn of their movements as assiduously as the Muslims sought to learn of his. He was especially apprehensive of the return trip because his trade, so far, had been particularly successful. The same al Juhaniy who played host to Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) messengers at al Hawrā' was asked by Abū Sufyan concerning the Muslims.

Al Jnhaniy did not tell the truth to Abu Sufyān; but this did not matter inasmuch as Abū Sufyān already knew as much about the Muslims as the Muslims knew about him. He feared a catastrophe because his caravan had but thirty or forty men to guard it. Anticipating danger, he decided to send Damdam ibn Amr al Ghifāri in haste to Quraysh with the message that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions had set out to intercept the caravan and to appeal to them to send men for escort. As instructed by Abū Sufyān, just before he entered Makkah, Damdam cut off the ears of his camel, broke its nose, turned its saddle sideways, tore his own robe in front and in back, and entered the city standing on the back of his camel shouting:

"0 People of Quraysh, your wealth and trade are being lost. Abū Sufyān and the caravan are being intercepted by Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions. Perhaps you may still catch them. Help! Help!" As soon as he heard the news, Abū Jahl called upon all Makkans to join in the rescue operation. He, a man of acid temper, eloquent speech, and strong insight, could inflame any audience. The Quraysh, however, were not in need of eloquent speeches to rise against Muhammad (P.B.U.H). Every one of them had a share in the trade this caravan carried.

Old Enmity of Quraysh and Kinanah

At the time, a group of Makkans felt that Quraysh had been too unjust toward its Muslim members for having compelled them to emigrate first to Abyssinia and then to Madinah. This group, hesitant to answer the call of Abū Jahl, simply hoped that the caravan would not be destroyed. This same group remembered that the Quraysh and Kinānah tribes were quite alienated from each other and were only waiting for an opportunity to avenge themselves against each other. They feared that should the Quraysh all go out to meet Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and protect their caravan, the Banu Bakr of Kinānah might seize the opportunity to attack them from behind. This cautious judgment would nearly have carried the day against the appeal of Abu Jahl were it not for the arrival upon the scene of Mālik ibn Ju'shum al Mudliji, a nobleman and leader of Banu Kinanah. He said, addressing the Makkans: "I deliver myself to you as a surety that Kinānah will not pounce upon you in your hour of need." With this, the group supporting Abū Jahl and 'Amir ibn al Hadrami for general mobilization and war against Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions, succeeded in convincing the Makkans in favor of war. No reason remained for any Makkan capable of fighting to stay behind, or for the incapable to equip and send somebody in his stead. None of the noblemen of the Quraysh stayed behind except Abū Lahab, who sent in his stead al 'As ibn Hishām ibn al Mughirah in compensation for some four thousand dirhams the latter owed him which he was not able to pay back. 'Umayyah ibn Khalaf, a very old and obese man, decided to stay behind. He was visited in the mosque by Uqbah ibn Abu Mu'ayt and Abu Jahl. The first carried an incense burner; the second, instruments of beautification for women. 'Uqbah placed the incense burner in Umayyah's hands and said, "0 Abu 'Ali, fill your atmosphere

with incense for you are a woman." Abu Jahl handed over the instruments of beautification and said, "O Abu 'Ali, beautify yourself for you are only a woman." At this, Umayyah rose and said, "Buy for me the best and strongest camel in Makkah." He rode it and joined the force. Because of this and like tactics, no man capable of bearing arms remained behind.

The Path of the Muslim Army

The Prophet (P.B.U.H) had started off from Madinah with his companions on the eighth day of Ramaclan in the second year A.H. He had appointed 'Amr ibn Maktum to lead the prayer in Madinah, and Abū Lubābah, whom he called back from al Rawhā', to govern Madinah in his place during his absence. The Muslim force was preceded by two black flags, and their camels counted seventy. Since three or four men were assigned to one camel, each one rode for only a brief while. Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) share in riding was like that of his companions. He, 'Ali ibn Abu Tālib, and Marthad ibn Marthad al Ghanawi had one camel assigned to them. Abu Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Abd al Rahman ibn 'Awf shared another. The total number of men on this expedition amounted to three hundred and five. Eighty-three of them were Muhājirūn, sixty-one belonged to al Aws, and the rest to al Khazraj. Their pace was swift because they feared Abu Sufyan would pass them by if they tarried. They arrived to a place called 'Irq al Zubiah where they found a Bedouin whom they asked concerning the caravan but could not learn anything from him. They continued on their march until they arrived at a valley called Dhafiran where they encamped. It was at this moment that the news reached them that the Quraysh had come out in force to meet them and protect the caravan. This news radically changed the situation. It was no more a question of intercepting Abu Sufyan, his caravan, and the thirty or forty

escorts who were no match for Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions. The whole of Makkah, led by its nobles and elders, was out to protect its trade. If the Muslims were to catch up with Abu Sufyān, overcome his men and take away his camels and all they carried, would the Quraysh not follow and catch up with them, stirred up by this new attack of the Muslims and encouraged by their great numbers and armaments? Would they not catch up with the Muslims and fight them to the finish? On the other hand, if Muhammad (P.B.U.H) were to return without victory, would not both the Quraysh and the Jews of Madinah realize his weakness and seek to take advantage of it? Would he then not have to compromise and, perhaps, suffer a Jewish tyranny in Madinah such as the Quraysh tyranny he had suffered in Makkah? In such eventuality, how could the Revelation of truth and the religion of Allah ever become successful or achieve victory?

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) consulted the members of his expedition concerning the news just received. After Aba Bakr and 'Umar presented their views, al Miqdad ibn 'Amr stood up and said: "0 Prophet of God, press forward toward that which Cod has shown you. We are with you. By God, we shall never say to you, as the Jews had said to Moses, 'Go alone with your Lord and fight with Him for us, while we remain here and await your return.' Rather, we say, 'Go forth, you and your Lord to fight, for we are fighting with you.'" Al Miqdad's speech was followed by silence. The Prophet said: "Speak out, 0 men, and give me your counsel." He was especially anxious to hear al Ansār's view who, on the day of al 'Aqabah, pledged to protect him as they would their children and women but not to permit any aggression with him outside their own area. When al Ansār realized that he was waiting for them to speak, Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh, their leader, rose and addressed Muhammad: "Does it seem, 0 Prophet of God, that you are seeking to hear our view?" The Prophet answered, "Indeed." Sa'd said, "We have believed in

you, and we have witnessed that what you have brought to us is the truth. We have covenanted with you to hear and to obey. Go ahead with whatever you decide, for we are with you. By Him who sent you as a prophet, if you lead us toward the sea, we shall enter into it with you and not one of us will stay behind.

We do not fear that you cause us to face our enemy tomorrow. We shall hold fast to our ground and stand firm or press forward toward the enemy in solid ranks. We hope that God will show you such of our deeds as you may not be disappointed therein but may be proud of. Lead us forth with God's blessing." Sa'd had hardly finished his words when Muhammad's face radiated with joy and his eyes shone with energy. He said: "Go forward and be optimistic; for God had promised me one of the two— either the caravan or the Makkan army. By God, it is as though I see the enemy lying prostrate in the field." When the force arrived at Dhafiran, Muhammad advanced on his camel alone and, reaching an old bedouin settler in the area who did not know him, asked about Quraysh, as well as about Muhammad and his companions, and learned that the caravan of Quraysh was indeed close by.

Reconnaissance and Espionage

When Muhammad returned to his party, he sent 'All ibn Abū Talib, al Zubayr ibn al 'Awwām, and Sa'd ibn Abū Waqqas with a number of other companions to the well of Badr to seek out fresh news. The little group returned with two boys who, upon interrogation by Muhammad, revealed that the Quraysh army stood behind the hill on the further side. When they could not answer his questions regarding the strength of the Quraysh army, Muhammad asked how many animals they killed for food every day. The boys answered, "Nine on one day and ten on the other." The Prophet concluded from this that their number must be

between nine hundred and one thousand. He also learned from the two boys that the leaders of Quraysh were all present. Turning to his own companions he said, "There is Makkah confronting you with all its sons in one body." It was therefore absolutely necessary, he thought, that Muslims mobilize all efforts, harden their hearts and wills, and prepare themselves for a battle so fierce that none would emerge victorious from it except those whose hearts were completely possessed by faith in God alone.

Escape of the Caravan and Abū Sufyān

As 'Ali and his companions came back from Badr with the two youths and some information about Quraysh, two other Muslims went in a slightly different direction to seek news of the caravan. They came to a sandhill not too far from the springs of Badr. There they took a jug and went down to the spring to get some water. While they were there they overheard two maid servants involved in an argument in which the one was asking the other to pay back her debt to her; the latter answered that either on the next day or the day after the caravan would come for whom she would work, and she would earn enough to pay her back. The two men returned to Muhammad and reported what they heard. As the caravan approached the area, Aba Sufyan marched ahead reconnoitering the territory, apparently fearful that Muhammad might have preceded him to the place. When he arrived at the spring, he met Majdi ibn 'Amr, whom he asked whether anyone had been seen in the vicinity. Majdi answered that he had not seen anyone except two idlers who stopped at the nearby sand dune, and pointed to the spot where the two Muslims stopped in order to get the water. Abū Sufyan came to the spot and found some refuse of their two camels. As he examined it, he found it contained grains which he recognized

as coming from crops known to be grown and used in Madinah. He returned quickly to his caravan and altered its course. By leading it toward the sea coast with great speed, he managed to escape.

The morrow arrived while the Muslims were still awaiting the arrival of the caravan. The news now reached them that the caravan had passed them by on a different route and that the Quraysh army were still in the vicinity close by. With this news, whatever hope for booty some of them may have entertained collapsed. The Prophet discussed with his companions whether or not they should now return to Madinah and not force a showdown with the Quraysh army. In this connection the following verses of the Qur'än were revealed:

﴿ وَإِذْ يَعِدُكُمُ ٱللَّهُ إِحْدَى ٱلطَّآئِفَتَيْنِ أَنَّهَا لَكُمْ وَتَوَدُّونَ أَنَّ غَيْرَ ذَاتِ ٱلشَّوْكَةِ تَكُونُ لَكُمْ وَيُرِيدُ ٱللَّهُ أَن يُحِقَّ ٱلْحَقَّ بِكَلِمَٰتِهِۦ وَيَقْطَعَ دَابِرَ ٱلْكَٰفِرِينَ ﴿٧﴾ ﴾ سورة الأنفال آية ٧

(Behold! Allah promised you one of the two (enemy) parties, that it should be yours: you wished that the one unarmed should be yours, but Allah willed to establish the Truth according to His words, and to cut off the roots of the Unbelievers.) (Al-Anfal: 7)

Prospects of Battle

For their part, the Quraysh asked themselves the same question. What need do they have to fight now that their caravan had escaped? Was it not better for them to return to their homes and to let the Muslims return to theirs empty handed? These were the

thoughts of Abu Sufyan, who sent word to the Quraysh to this effect. He told them, "You have prepared for war and come out in strength in order to protect your caravan, your men, and your goods. God has saved all these. Return, then, home." Some men agreed. Abu Jahl thought otherwise. To Abū Sufyān's message, he responded, "By God, we shall not return home until we have come to Badr, spent three nights in eating good food, drinking wine, and reveling, that all Arabs may hear of our sortie, our strength, and continue to fear us." The locality of Badr was the center of a seasonal gathering in that part of Arabia. For the Quraysh to withdraw soon after the escape of their caravan might be interpreted as fear of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions. This event would increase Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) power and encourage the spread of his cause. Such would especially be the case as the expedition of 'Abdullah ibn Jahsh, the killing of ibn al Hadrami, the capture of two QurayshIs, and Quraysh's loss of the caravan were all common knowledge throughout the desert.

The Muslims Camp at Badr

There was some hesitation in the camp of Quraysh, whether to follow Abū Jahl or return home. Banū Zuhrah, under the leadership of al Akhnas ibn Shariq, listened to Abu Sufyān's counsel and returned home; but they were alone. All the rest followed Abu Jahl in deciding to encamp as if in preparation for war and to consult with one another later on. They set up camp on the farthest side behind a sand dune which they took as center. The Muslims, on the other hand, having now missed the booty, decided together to stand firm should the enemy engage them. They hurried to the springs of Badr while a rain which fell upon them from heaven helped their quick advance to that place. When they reached the first water well, Muhammad (P.B.U.H)

dismounted with the intention of camping there. Cognizant of the area, al Hubāb ibn al Mundhir ibn al Jamuh approached the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and said: "0 Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), is this spot where you have dismounted a place to which Allah has guided you and, therefore, may we neither step beyond it nor stay far behind it? Or is this simply a question of ordinary war strategy, of measures and moves and counter measures and moves?" Muhammad (P.B.U.H) answered, "It is indeed the latter, just as you said." Al Hubāb then said,

"0 Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), this is not a good place to be. We should move forward until we reach the well closest to the enemy. There we would bring trough to it to fill with water and then fill the well with sand. We would fight the enemy; and when we withdraw we would be able to drink, whereas they would not." Muhammad (P.B.U.H) immediately agreeing, rose to go forward with his force. He sent a reminder to all his companions that he is but a man like them, that all decisions have to be taken by all of them in consultation with one another, that he will not decide anything without them finally, and that he stands in great need of their good counsel.

Building a Booth for the Prophet (P.B.U.H)

When they completed the building of the trough, Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh addressed the Prophet (P.B.U.H) thus: "0 Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), let us build a booth for you to stay in, and let us prepare for you some mounts before we engage our enemy. If Allah gives us the strength and we are victorious, that would be fine and well. If otherwise, you would then ride these mounts, join the rear ranks of our forces and return home. Many Muslims have stayed in Madinah who do not love you any less than we do. No one had expected that our expedition would turn out to be one of war. Had they realized this, they would not have let you

go out without them. On your return to Madinah, they would be there to protect you, counsel you and fight with you." Muhammad (P.B.U.H) thanked Sa'd and prayed for him. The booth was readied for the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and preparations were made for his return in case of defeat so that he would not fall into the hands of his enemies as a captive.

The True Faith of the Muslims

We must pause here to appreciate with wonder the faithfulness of the Muslims, their great love for Muhammad (P.B.U.H), and their absolute conviction of the truth of his prophethood. They knew too well that Quraysh far exceeded them in number; in fact, their enemy had three times as many fighters as they. Nonetheless, they decided to stand firm in the cause and to fight. After they saw their booty escape, whatever motivation they had for material gain must now be discounted. All this notwithstanding, by siding with the Prophet (P.B.U.H) they confirmed his prophethood and strengthened his ranks. They were not sure of victory, though they wished for it; and they were afraid of defeat. Nonetheless, they thought of protecting the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and arranged lest he should fall a captive in the hands of his enemies. They planned for him to return to Madinah and join the Muslims behind. What stand is more wonderful than this! What faith guarantees victory as this faith of theirs!

Hamzah Kills Ibn 'Abd al Assad

The Quraysh arranged and readied themselves for battle. Their spies had informed them that the Muslims were three hundred strong or a little more, that they had neither provisions nor a hiding place, and that their only protection was their swords, determined as they were to kill before falling. As the cream of Quraysh forces had joined this expedition, the wise among them feared that should a number of these fall by Muslim hands, Makkah would soon lose its position of leadership. However, they coud not speak out for fear that Abū Jahl would accuse them of cowardice. Nonetheless, 'Utbah ibn Rabi'ah did. "0 men of Quraysh," he advised his peers, "we will surely not achieve anything by meeting Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions in battle. If we should defeat them, every one of us would recognize in their dead a cousin, an uncle, or a relative from his own clan and tribe. Return to your homes and leave Muhammad (P.B.U.H) alone among the tribes. Should they kill him and defeat him, your purpose would have been met. Should it turn out to be otherwise, you will not have to suffer the consequences." But when Abū Jahl heard these words of 'Utbah, he raged in anger, sent after 'Amir ibn al Hadrami, and said to him: "Your ally is shamelessly courting men to return to Makkah now that you have beheld your enemy with your own eye. There is your enemy, on whom you ought to avenge yourself. Rise and avenge the slaying of your brother." 'Amir stood up and yelled, "Woe! 'Amr shall be avenged! To battle! To battle!" With this, the last chance of peace was shattered. Al Aswad ibn 'Abd al Asad al Makhzūml, springing out of the ranks of the Quraysh toward the Muslims, sought to destroy the trough which they had just built. Hamzah ibn 'Abd al Muttalib struck him with his sword. The blow cut off his leg, and the victim fell on his back with his leg bleeding profusely. Immediately Hamzah struck him again and killed him. Nothing draws the swords out of mens'

sheaths faster than the sight of blood. Nothing stirs the will to kill more than the sight of a friend slain by an enemy hand in front of his own people.

Engagement of the Two Armies

As soon as al Aswad fell, 'Utbah ibn RabI'ah, flanked by his brother Shaybah on one side and his son al Walid ibn 'Utbah on the other, sprang forth and challenged the Muslims to duel. A number of youths from Madlnah went out to meet them. When Shaybah recognized them, he said: "We have not come to fight you. Rather we want to fight our own tribesmen." The Quraysh crier called forth: "0 Muhammad (P.B.U.H), send out our own peers of our own tribe to fight us." At this, Hamzah ibn 'Abd al Muttalib, 'Ali ibn Abū Tälib, and 'Ubaydah ibn al Hārith advanced forth. A duel was fought in which Hamzah killed Shaybah, and 'Ali killed al Walid. Then both of them came to assist 'Ubaydah who had not yet finished off 'Utbah. When the Quraysh army saw this, they advanced in force and the two armies collided. It was the morning of Friday, seventeenth of Ramadān, 2 A.H.

Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) Prayer and Invocation

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) led the Muslims and organized their ranks. As he looked over the Quraysh army and compared them with his thin ranks and poor equipment, he felt quite apprehensive. He returned to his booth with Abū Bakr, strongly moved by fear and pity for the career of Islam should the Muslims lose on this day. Turning his face to Makkah and his whole soul to Allah, he began to pray, calling on Allah to give him victory. He prayed to Allah for a very long while, and was

heard repeating the following words: "0 Allah, here is Quraysh with all her tribe seeking to belie your Prophet. 0 Allah (P.B.U.H), give us the assistance which You promised. 0 Allah, if this little army perishes, when will You be worshiped again?" Muhammad (P.B.U.H) prayed with hands raised to heaven. His mantle fell off and Abū Bakr had to pick it up and put it hack on his shoulders. Abu Bakr said to him: "0 Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), enough calling on Allah; He will surely give you what He promised. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) continued to pray, pouring out his whole soul in pious invocation to Allah to help him in this hour of precipitous danger. After near collapse, he came back to himself and told of a vision he saw of Allah's victory. With radiant face, he went out to meet his men and incited them to put their faith in Allah and enter the battle without fear. He assured them one by one: "By Him who controls Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) soul, not one of you today fights and falls but Allah will enter him into His paradise."

Muslim Morale

Out of Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) strong soul a stronger power than Allah might have imparted on any other occasion spread among the Muslim ranks, fortifying their will and determination and making each and every one of them the equivalent of two—nay ten—men in strength. We can easily imagine the effect of this sudden reinforcement of Muslim morale upon their personalities when the cause is as morally justified as theirs has been. The feeling of patriotism with which modernity is familiar is certainly one such supporting moral justification in modern wars. The soldier who exposes himself to all kinds of danger in the belief that he is defending his fatherland walks into battle with superior morale; the greater his love for and faith in his fatherland, the more frightful the risks he stands prepared to take.

Consequently, nations inculcate upon their young at a very tender age the love of the fatherland and the will to sacrifice for its sake. Conviction of the fatherland's right to justice, freedom, and the higher human values reinforce the soul; and this, in turn, doubles the material power issuing from the person. Those who remember the allied propaganda against the Germans during World War II will recall that the allies saturated the atmosphere with their claim that they were fighting a war for the sake of freedom and justice, and were laying down their lives in a last war against the militaristic state of Germany precisely in order to usher in an age of peace and security and light. This allied propaganda not only doubled the strength of their soldiers but provided them as well with a warm welcome freely given by most peoples of the world. But what patriotism and what cause of peace and security dare compare with what Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was calling for! For Muhammad (P.B.U.H), it was a matter of one's communion with ultimate reality, of union with all being in a bond giving man determining power in the universe, and of blazing for him the path of goodness, blessedness and perfection. Yes, indeed: What kind of patriotism or cause of peace dares to stand beside the communion with Allah which puts to an end the persecution of the believers for their faith in Him and removes the hindrances of idolatry and associationism from the path of Allah? If patriotism increases the power of the soul by as much power as corresponds with the value of fatherland, and if the love of peace for mankind increases the power of the soul by as much power as corresponds with the value of the whole of mankind, how great must have been the power of the soul when it was reinforced by faith in total being as well as in the Creator of total being? Surely it makes that soul capable of moving mountains, of determining the heavenly bodies, of exerting its power and influence supremely over all men endowed with less faith? Moral power doubles and redoubles material power. When, before the battle,

this strength was not at its highest because of division within Muslim ranks, Muslim material power suffered in consequence. But the situation changed, and their power increased tremendously under the inspiration of Muhammad (P.B.U.H). And it was this new resurgence of power by this means that compensated the Muslims for their small number and poor equipment. It was in connection with this spiritual phenomenon that the two Qur'ānic verses were revealed:

﴿ يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلنَّبِيُّ حَرِّضِ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلَى ٱلْقِتَالِ ۚ إِن يَكُن مِّنكُمْ عِشْرُونَ صَٰبِرُونَ يَغْلِبُوا۟ مِا۟ئَتَيْنِ ۚ وَإِن يَكُن مِّنكُم مِّا۟ئَةٌ يَغْلِبُوٓا۟ أَلْفًا مِّنَ ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا۟ بِأَنَّهُمْ قَوْمٌ لَّا يَفْقَهُونَ ﴿٦٥﴾ ٱلْـَٔـٰنَ خَفَّفَ ٱللَّهُ عَنكُمْ وَعَلِمَ أَنَّ فِيكُمْ ضَعْفًا ۚ فَإِن يَكُن مِّنكُم مِّا۟ئَةٌ صَابِرَةٌ يَغْلِبُوا۟ مِا۟ئَتَيْنِ ۚ وَإِن يَكُن مِّنكُمْ أَلْفٌ يَغْلِبُوٓا۟ أَلْفَيْنِ بِإِذْنِ ٱللَّهِ ۗ وَٱللَّهُ مَعَ ٱلصَّٰبِرِينَ ﴿٦٦﴾ ﴾ سورة الأنفال الآيتان ٦٥-٦٦

(O Prophet! rouse the Believers to the fight. If there are twenty amongst you, patient and persevering, they will vanquish two hundred: if a hundred, they will vanquish a thousand of the Unbelievers: for these are a people without understanding. For the present, Allah has lightened your (burden), for He knows that there is a weak spot in you: but (even so), if there are a hundred of you, patient and persevering, they will vanquish two hundred, and if a thousand, they will vanquish two thousand, with the leave of Allah: for Allah is with those who patiently persevere.)

(Al-Anfal: 65-66)

Bilāl Kills Umayyah ibn Khalaf

At Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) urging and inspiration, his standing in their midst and inciting them against the enemy, and his announcement that paradise belongs to the men of valor who plunge fearlessly into the ranks of the enemy, the Muslims doubled and redoubled their strength. Before entering battle, they resolved to direct their attention to the leaders and nobles of the Quraysh. They planned to seek them and to kill them first, remembering the persecution and travails they suffered at their hands in Makkah, especially the blocking of the road to Allah and to the holy mosque. Bilal saw Umayyah ibn Khalaf and his son on the field surrounded by a number of Muslims who had recognized him and sought to take him as captive. This Umayyah was Bilal's previous master who used to torture him by forcing him down to the ground where he placed a large rock on his chest, letting him burn under the torrid sun in order to force him to abjure Islam. Bilal survived all these travails in certainty of his faith while repeating continuously, "Allah is one! Allah is one !" When his eyes fell upon Umayyah in the field, he shouted, "Umayyah, the head of idolatry! Death to me if he escapes !" and charged furiously toward him. The Muslims surrounding Umayyah sought to prevent Bilal from reaching him. Bilal called to them at high voice: "O Helpers of Allah! The head of idolatry is Umayyah ibn Khalaf. Death to me if he escapes!" He charged again toward Umayyah and killed him. Mu'adh ibn 'Amr ibn al Jamuh killed Abu Jahl ibn Hishām. Hamzah, 'Ali and other Muslim heroes penetrated deeply into enemy lines, forgetting themselves, their small numbers, and their being surrounded by their enemies. Muslims hurled themselves into the ***mêlée.*** The dust rose, the battle raged at its hottest and wildest, and the heads of the Quraysh flew off their bodies. Possessed by their faith and chanting, "Allah is one!

Allah is one !" the Muslims exerted tremendous power and pressed ever forward. It wars as if space and time had lost their meaning, and Allah's angels were hovering above to encourage and draw them ever forward. They were so great that even their arms brandishing their swords in the air and striking the necks of their enemies seemed as if they moved not by ordinary human power but by the supernatural power of Allah Himself. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was in the midst of the battlefield fighting as well as observing his companions. At one moment he took dirt in his hand and threw it in the face of an advancing party of Quraysh, commanding his companions to stand firm. The Muslims stood their ground and forced the superior enemy to withdraw. It did not matter to the Muslim that he was surrounded by his enemies. His soul was filled with the breath of Allah; this Divine spirit made him ever-firm and gave him the very power with which he wielded his arms. It was of this battle that Allah said:

﴿إِذْ يُوحِي رَبُّكَ إِلَى ٱلْمَلَـٰٓئِكَةِ أَنِّي مَعَكُمْ فَثَبِّتُوا۟ ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا۟ ۚ سَأُلْقِي فِي قُلُوبِ ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا۟ ٱلرُّعْبَ فَٱضْرِبُوا۟ فَوْقَ ٱلْأَعْنَاقِ وَٱضْرِبُوا۟ مِنْهُمْ كُلَّ بَنَانٍ ﴿١٢﴾﴾ سورة الأنفال آية ١٢

(Remember your Lord inspired the angels (with the message): "I am with you: give firmness to the Believers: I will instil terror into the hearts of the Unbelievers: smite above their necks and smite all their finger- tips off them.)
(Al- Anfal: 12)

﴿ فَلَمْ تَقْتُلُوهُمْ وَلَـٰكِنَّ ٱللَّهَ قَتَلَهُمْ ۚ وَمَا رَمَيْتَ إِذْ رَمَيْتَ

وَلَٰكِنَّ ٱللَّهَ رَمَىٰ ۚ وَلِيُبْلِيَ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ مِنْهُ بَلَآءً حَسَنًا ۚ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ ﴿١٧﴾ سورة الأنفال آية ١٧

(It is not you who slew them; it was Allah: when you threw (a handful of dust), it was not your act, but Allah's: in order that He might confer on the Believers by a gracious benefit from Himself: for Allah is He Who hears and knows (all things) (Al-Anfal: 17)

When the Prophet (P.B.U.H) saw that Allah had fulfilled His promise and given the Muslims victory, he returned to his booth. The Quraysh were not only withdrawing but running away, and the Muslims were pressing after them to capture those of them whom they did not kill on the battlefield.

The Muslims Spare the Just

This was the great battle of Badr that established Muslim power throughout the Arabian Penninsula and began the movement of Arab unity under the leadership of Islam. It was the beginning of a large Islamic empire which gave the world a civilization which has so far played and will ever play a very important role in the history of the universe. It may surprise some readers to learn that as he urged his companions to fight the enemy and scatter their forces, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) asked them not to kill Banu Hashim and some other leaders of the Quraysh despite the fact that they were all arrayed in battle on the other side. In so doing, he was not seeking any advantage for his tribe or relatives. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was too noble to be moved by such considerations. Rather he wanted to reward Banū Hāshim for their protection of him and of his cause during

thirteen long years between his commission to prophethood and emigration. It should be remembered that his uncle, al 'Abbās, was the one who concluded the covenant of al 'Aqabah. He also remembered other members of the Quraysh besides the Banū Hashim, who once sought to revoke the boycott pact which emprisoned the Muslims in one of the districts of Makkah with little or no food supplies. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) considered a good deed as worthy of regard of a gesture equal to it in charity and good will despite the idolatry of its author. Thus, he interceded with the Muslims at the hour of battle on behalf of those Makkans who did the good deeds. Some of them, however, refused Muhammad's (P.B.U.H)good will move and kind gesture. Such was the case of Abu al Bakhtari, who was responsible for the rescinding of the boycott pact but who fought and was killed in battle.

People of the Grave

The people of Makkah ran away from the field despondent, dejected, and mourning their dead. They would hardly catch sight of their companions when their eyes would fall down in shame for what had happened. The Muslims remained at Badr until the end of the day. They collected the dead of the Quraysh and buried them on the spot. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions spent that night on the battlefield burying the dead, collecting the booty and keeping their eyes on the captives. As the night drew on, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) sat down to think both of this victory, which Allah had just given the Muslims despite their small number, and the terrible defeat He had inflicted upon an enemy devoid of a sound faith capable of fusing their large numbers into one strong will. He pondered the matter over many long hours of the night. He was even heard addressing the dead in their new graves: "0 people of the grave"! he murmured, "0

'Utbah ibn Rabi'ah! 0 Shaybah ibn Rabi'ah! 0 Umayyah ibn Khalaf! 0 Abu Jahl ibn Hishām !" After calling by name the fallen one by one, he addressed them in these words: "Have you really found that which your Lord had promised you? I have found what my Lord had promised me. But have you? The Muslims who overheard him asked, "Are you calling the dead?" and the Prophet (P.B.U.H) answered, "They hear me no less than you do, except that they are unable to answer me." The Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) looked Abu Hudhayfah ibn 'Utbah straight in the face and realized that he was pale. He asked him, "0 Abū Hudhayfah, are you despondent over the sad fate your father met today?" Abfl Hudhayfah answered, "No, by Allah, 0 Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H)! I have not censured my father or bemoaned his fate. I have known him to be a wise and good man, and I had hoped that his wisdom and virtue would one day lead him to Islam. When I saw what befell him. I remembered his idolatry despite all the hope I had entertained for him. Thus I am only sorry for him." The Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) spoke to him gently and prayed for him.

Muslim Differences Concerning Booty

When the morning came and it was time for the Muslims to return to Madinah, they began to consider the disposition of the booty. Those who collected it claimed it as their own. Those who ran after the enemy and captured the captives said: "By Allah, we deserve it more than they; for without us it would not have been realized." Those who were guarding Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and protecting him against a resurgence of the enemy forces, said: "Neither one of you deserve the booty. We surely could have killed the enemy and taken possession of his goods, but we preferred to protect the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) and, therefore, we stayed behind near him while you went out

capturing and collecting it." At this Muhammad (P.B.U.H) commanded every Muslim to return every piece of the booty he had taken and to keep all the booty together until he had reached judgment regarding it, or Allah had revealed the way it should be disposed of.

Equal Division of the Booty

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) sent to Madinah 'Abdullah ibn Rawāha and Zayd ibn Ḥārithah to bring news of the victory to the people of Madinah. He and his companions returned to Madinah accompanied by the captives and carrying the booty of war. He had appointed 'Abdullah ibn Ka'b as the guardian of it. After reaching the valley of al Safrā', Muhammad (P.B.U.H) camped on a hill and there began to divide the booty among the Muslims in equal parts. Some historians claim that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had divided the booty after he had appropriated one-fifth of it in accordance with the Qur'ānic command:

﴿ ۞ وَٱعۡلَمُوٓاْ أَنَّمَا غَنِمۡتُم مِّن شَيۡءٖ فَأَنَّ لِلَّهِ خُمُسَهُۥ وَلِلرَّسُولِ وَلِذِي ٱلۡقُرۡبَىٰ وَٱلۡيَتَٰمَىٰ وَٱلۡمَسَٰكِينِ وَٱبۡنِ ٱلسَّبِيلِ إِن كُنتُمۡ ءَامَنتُم بِٱللَّهِ وَمَآ أَنزَلۡنَا عَلَىٰ عَبۡدِنَا يَوۡمَ ٱلۡفُرۡقَانِ يَوۡمَ ٱلۡتَقَى ٱلۡجَمۡعَانِۗ وَٱللَّهُ عَلَىٰ كُلِّ شَيۡءٖ قَدِيرٌ ﴿٤١﴾ ﴾ سورة الأنفال آية ٤١

(And know that out of all the booty that you may acquire (in war), a fifth share is assigned to Allah, and to the Messenger, and to near relatives, orphans, the needy, and the wayfarer, if you do believe in Allah and in the

revelation We sent down to our Servant on the Day of Discrimination- the Day of the meeting of the two forces. For Allah has power over all things.) (Al-Anfal: 41)

Most biographers, especially the earlier among them, believed that this verse was revealed after the battle of Badr as well as after Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) division of its booty. They hold that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had divided the booty in equal parts, giving to the fighter with a horse twice the amount he gave to the fighter on foot, and allowing the share of the Muslims who were killed at Badr to go to their heirs. They also hold that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had assigned a share to the Muslims who were left behind in Madinah on assignment to work for the Muslim cause there during the absence of the army in Badr, or who had remained in Madinah for good reason. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) divided the booty justly. Not only did he include in his division the soldier hut also everyone who worked for the cause and helped achieve this victory, whether on the battlefield or far from it.

Execution of Two Captives

While the Muslims were on their way back to Madinah, two of the captives were executed, al Nadr ibn al Hārith and 'Uqbah ibn Abu Mu'ayt. Neither Muhammad (P.B.U.H) nor his companions had until that moment any law regarding the captives regulating their execution, ransom, or enslavement. Al Nadr and 'Uqbah were terribly hard on the Muslims in Makkah and had inflicted upon them all the harm and injury they could. Al Nadr was executed when the captives were arrayed in front of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) near the locality called al Uthayl. As the Prophet looked at al Nadr, the latter trembled and called to his neighbor: "Muhammad (P.B.U.H) is surely going to kill me. He

had looked at me with eyes in which I saw the judgment of death." His neighbor rejoined:

"You are a coward." Al Nadr approached Mus'ab ibn 'Umayr, the closest of the captives to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and asked him: "Please approach your relative concerning me. Let him allow me to be one of his companions. If you do not, I am certain he is going to kill me today." Mus'ab replied, "You used to speak all kinds of calumnies against the Book of Allah and His Prophet (P.B.U.H); you also used to persecute and harm his companions." Al Nadr said, "Had Quraysh taken you captive, I would have never allowed them to kill you as long as I was alive"; to which Musab replied, "By Allah I do not believe you; I am not like you; Islam has severed my relations with you." Al Nadr was the captive of al Miqdad who expected to receive a great ransom from the captive's family. When al Miqdad heard the conversation regarding the execution of al Nadr, he said: "Al Nadr is my captive. Hands off!" At this the Prophet (P.B.U.H) said: "Strike his neck. 0 Allah, give al Miqdad plenty of Your bounty instead." 'All ibn Abu Tālib executed the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) order with the sword. As the party arrived at 'Irq al Zubyah, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) ordered the execution of 'Uqbah ibn Abū Mu'ayt. When 'Uqbah pleaded, "Who will take care of my children, 0 Muhammad?" Muhammad (P.B.U.H) answered, "The fire." According to one version, ***it*** was 'Ali ibn Abu Tālib who executed him; according to another, it was 'Asim ibn Thabit.

News of the Victory in Madinah

Before the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and the Muslims reached Madinah, the two messengers, Zayd ibn Harithah and 'Ahdullah ibn Ka'b, had arrived and entered the city from different directions. 'Abdullah galloped through the city on his horse and

Zayd ibn Hārithah followed him riding on al Qaswa', Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) she-camel. Both were calling al Ansar and announcing to them the victory, mentioning the names of the fallen idolators. The Muslims, pleased to hear the news, went out of their houses and gathered in the streets acclaiming this great victory. As for the Jews and the idolators of Madinah, they were saddened by this turn of events. Indeed, they even tried to convince themselves as well as the Muslims in Madinah that it was not true. They proclaimed at the top of their voices: "Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was killed, and his companions were defeated There is his she-camel which we all know. Had he achieved victory, his she-camel would have stayed there. Zayd said otherwise because he lost his mind out of terror in the course of fighting." The Muslims, however, quickly confirmed the news and went on with their celebration. Only the death of Ruqayyah, daughter of the Prophet (P.B.U.H), which had occurred on that day, marred their joy. As his daughter was sick on the day Muhammad (P.B.U.H) left for Badr, he ordered her husband, 'Uthmān ibn 'Afffln, to stay behind and take care of her. When the idolators and ***munafiqun*** realized that the news of victory was true, they felt that their position was degenerating into one of weakness and isolation. A Jewish leader said, "Death for us is better on this day than life. What kind of life can we have now that the noblest of men, their lords and kings the Makkan guardians of security and peace are dead or vanquished?"

The Captives of Badr

The Muslims entered Madinah without the captives who were to follow the next day. When they did, Sawdah, daughter of Zam'ah and wife of the Prophet (P.B.U.H), was returning from a morning visit to the relatives of the two sons of 'Afrā'. She saw

Abū Yazid Suhayl ibn 'Amr, one of the captives, whose hand was hound to his neck. Unable to control her indignation at the sight, she approached him and said, "0 Abu Yazid! Did you give yourself up, and surrender voluntarily? Woe! The pity that you had not fallen nobly and met a heroic death on the battlefield!" Muhammad (P.B.U.H) called her away and said to her, "0 Sawdah, are you inciting the man against Allah and against His Prophet?" She answered, "0 Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), by Him who sent you a Prophet of the truth, I could not control myself when I saw Abu Yazid with his hand tied to his neck and felt impelled to say what I said." Muhammad (P.B.U.H) distributed the captives among his companions and said to them, "Treat them well." The question of what to do with them, to kill them or to accept ransom for them, continued to trouble him. Many of them are strong warriors; their hearts are now filled with hatred following their defeat and shameful captivity. If he were to accept ransom for them, surely they would wage another war against him. And yet, if he were to kill them would he not incite their people in Quraysh to further acts of violence? To a new height of enmity which might be avoided if he were to accept their ransom?

Abū Bakr and 'Umar's Views Regarding the Captives

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) submitted the matter to the Muslims and sought their advice. He wanted them to share freely in the decision. The Muslims, for their part, discovered that the captives desired to live and, therefore, that a great amount of wealth could be reaped from them as ransom. The captives sent word to Abū Bakr knowing that he was the nearest to the Quraysh and the most merciful and compassionate of the Muslims as well as the closest adviser and friend of Muhammad (P.B.U.H). They said to Abu Bakr: "0 Abu Bakr, among us are

fathers, brothers, uncles, and cousins of the Muslims. The most distant of us is still a relative. Approach your friend on our behalf and ask him to forgive us or to allow us to be ransomed. Abu Bakr promised them to do his best. At the same time, they feared that ibn al Khattāb would counsel against Abu Bakr's pleas; therefore, they sent after him to ask as they did Abu Bakr. 'Umar ibn Khattab looked at them in anger and did not answer. The two approached Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and each presented his point of view. Abū Bakr appealed to Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) gentleness and stirred his compassion. He pleaded, "0 Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), you are dearer than my father and my mother. Your captives consist of men who are parents, sons, cousins, uncles and brothers of your own people. The most removed of them is still a member of your clan and a blood relative. Be good to them and forgive them. Allah will forgive you and be good to you. Otherwise allow them to be ransomed and take from them that which would increase the Muslims in power. Perhaps, by such action, Allah will soften their hearts toward Islam." Muhammad (P.B.U.H) listened without answering. 'Umar, coming after Abu Bakr, sat in his place and pleaded: "0 Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), these are the enemies of Allah. They have belied you, fought you, and banished you. Strike their necks. They are the leaders of idolatry and misguidance. By this course Allah will consolidate Islam and bring low the idolators." Again Muhammad (P.B.U.H) did not answer. Later, Abū Bakr returned to Muhammad (P.B.U.H)and sought once more to stir his compassion by reminding him of the captives' relation and hoping for their conversion to Islam in case they were allowed to live. 'Umar, too, the exemplar of stern justice, returned to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) to plead once more still unmoved as ever by any feelings of leniency or mercy. When both Abū Bakr and 'Umar said all they had to say, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) withdrew to his room to ponder the matter alone. When he came out, he found the Muslims divided between Abū Bakr's view and 'Umar's. He

consulted them again, characterizing both Abu Bakr and 'Umar for their benefit. Aba Bakr, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) said, was like Michael, a carrier of Allah's pleasure and foregiveness. Compared with the prophets he is like Ibrahim who was sweeter to his people than honey itself. Ibrahim's people had condemned him to the fire and threw him into it, but all he could say to them was,

﴿ أُفٍّ لَّكُمْ وَلِمَا تَعْبُدُونَ مِن دُونِ ٱللَّهِ ۖ أَفَلَا تَعْقِلُونَ ﴿٦٧﴾ ﴾
سورة الأنبياء آية ٦٧

(Fie upon you, and upon the things that you worship besides Allah! Have you no sense?) (Al- Anbiyaa: 67)

﴿ فَمَن تَبِعَنِى فَإِنَّهُۥ مِنِّى ۖ وَمَنْ عَصَانِى فَإِنَّكَ غَفُورٌ رَّحِيمٌ ﴿٣٦﴾ ﴾
سورة إبراهيم آية ٣٦

(He then who follows my (ways) is of me, and he that disobeys me, you are indeed Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful.) (Ibrahim: 36)

﴿ إِن تُعَذِّبْهُمْ فَإِنَّهُمْ عِبَادُكَ ۖ وَإِن تَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ فَإِنَّكَ أَنتَ ٱلْعَزِيزُ ٱلْحَكِيمُ ﴿١١٨﴾ ﴾ سورة المائدة ١١٨

(If you dost punish them, they are Your servants: if you do forgive them, you are the Exalted in power, the Wise.) (Al- Ma'idah: 118)

'Umar, on the other hand, is like Gabriel among the angels. He is the carrier of Allah's wrath and condemnation of His enemies. Among the prophets he is like Noah when the latter

said:

﴿ رَّبِّ لَا تَذَرْ عَلَى ٱلْأَرْضِ مِنَ ٱلْكَٰفِرِينَ دَيَّارًا ﴿٢٦﴾ ﴾

سورة نوح آية ٢٦

("O my Lord! Leave not of the Unbelievers, a single one on earth!) (Nuh: 26)

or like Moses when he said:

﴿ رَبَّنَا ٱطْمِسْ عَلَىٰٓ أَمْوَٰلِهِمْ وَٱشْدُدْ عَلَىٰ قُلُوبِهِمْ فَلَا يُؤْمِنُوا۟ حَتَّىٰ يَرَوُا۟ ٱلْعَذَابَ ٱلْأَلِيمَ ﴿٨٨﴾ ﴾ سورة يونس آية ٨٨

(Our Lord, the features of their wealth, and send hardness to their hearts, so they will not believe until they see the grievous Chastisement.) (Yumus 88)

Then turning to the Muslims, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) said: "You have families to support. Do not therefore let any of these captives escape before you receive a ransom from him. Otherwise, strike off his neck." As the Muslims consulted with one another, one of the captives, a poet by profession, and Abu 'Izzat 'Amr ibn 'Abdullah ibn 'Umayr al Jumahi by name, stepped forward toward the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and said: "I have five daughters whom I must support. Do give me to them as your charity, 0 Muhammad. For my part I pledge to you that I shall never fight you nor will I ever criticize you." The Prophet (P.B.U.H) forgave him and sent him back to his family without ransom. He was the only captive thus liberated. But he violated his pledge and fought again against the Muslims in the battle of Uhud, a year later. There he was taken captive, and, this time, executed. After a while, the Muslims reached a consensus to accept ransom for the captives. The following verse of the

Qur'ān was revealed on this occasion:

﴿ مَا كَانَ لِنَبِيٍّ أَن يَكُونَ لَهُۥٓ أَسْرَىٰ حَتَّىٰ يُثْخِنَ فِى ٱلْأَرْضِ ۚ تُرِيدُونَ عَرَضَ ٱلدُّنْيَا وَٱللَّهُ يُرِيدُ ٱلْءَاخِرَةَ ۗ وَٱللَّهُ عَزِيزٌ حَكِيمٌ ﴾

سورة الأنفال آية ٦٧

(It is not fitting for a Prophet that he should have prisoners of war until He has thoroughly subdued the land. You look for the temporal goods of this world; but Allah looks to the Hereafter: and Allah is Exalted in might, Wise.)

(Al- Anfal: 67)

Orientalists' Controversy

A number of Orientalists pause at this affair of the captives of Badr and especially at the execution of al Nadr and 'Uqbah. They argue: Doesn't this prove the thirst of this new religion for blood? Without such thirst, the two captives would not have been executed. It would have been more charitable and nobler for the Muslims after they won the battle to return the captives and to be satisfied with the booty they acquired. The Orientalists' argument is designed to stir mercy and compassion simply in order to provide means for condemning Islam and its Prophet (P.B.U.H). But such emotions were utterly out of place on the day of Badr, and much more so a thousand or more years after that battle. The incoherence of the argument is evident upon comparison of the execution of al Nadr and 'Uqbah with what happens today and will always happen as long as western civilization rules the world under the banner of Christianity. Is their execution cormparable in any possible manner to what the Christian imperialists do when they put down the uprisings of

their colonies against their rule? Is it equivalent to any part, however, infinitesimal, of the slaughter that took place in the first or second World War? Is it at all comparable to the events of the French Revolution, or the many other revolutions which have taken place among the Christian nations of Europe?

Revolution against idolatry

There is no doubt that the whole matter between Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions was one of a strong revolution led by Muhammad (P.B.U.H) against idolatry and its adherents. It was a revolution that started in Makkah where Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions were subjected to all kinds of suffering for thirteen long. years. Thereafter, the Muslims emigrated to Madinah and there organized themselves and built up their strength under revolutionary principles dominating the scene in both their camp and the Quraysh's. The Muslims' emigration to Madinah, the peace they had concluded with the Jews, all the skirmishes preceding the battle of Badr as well as the battle of Badr itself— all these were steps in the general plan of revolution, but not its guiding principles. They constitute the policy line decided by the leader of this revolution and his companions as instruments in the realization of principles which the Prophet (P.B.U.H) had received from Allah. The policy of a revolution should not be confused with its principles. The plan followed cannot be identified with the purpose for which it was drawn. Since Islam made human brotherhood the foundation of its civilization, it had to seek that civilization by following whatever means are necessary, including violence.

The Slaughter of St. Bartholomew's Day

What the Muslims did with the captives of Badr was an

instance of sublime mercy and charity when compared with what happened in the revolutions praised by the western peoples as embodiments of justice and mercy. What happened to the captives of Badr was really nothing compared to the many slaughters carried out in the name of Christianity such as that which occurred on St. Bartholomew's Day in France. This slaughter *is* really a curse in the history of Christianity unmatched by anything in the whole history of Islam. it was a slaughter planned deliberately during the night. The Catholics rose the next morning to slaughter systematically the Protestants of Paris and France with deception, wantonness, and the lowliest and worst kind of cruelty. If the Muslims had killed two of the fifty captives for the cruel suffering they had previously inflicted upon the Muslims during thirteen years in Makkah, it was an act of further mercy and benefit which occasioned the Revelation of the already quoted verse:

﴿ مَا كَانَ لِنَبِيٍّ أَن يَكُونَ لَهُۥٓ أَسْرَىٰ حَتَّىٰ يُثْخِنَ فِى ٱلْأَرْضِ ۚ
تُرِيدُونَ عَرَضَ ٱلدُّنْيَا وَٱللَّهُ يُرِيدُ ٱلْءَاخِرَةَ ۗ وَٱللَّهُ عَزِيزٌ حَكِيمٌ ﴿٦٧﴾ ﴾

سورة الأنفال آية ٦٧

(It is not fitting for a Prophet that he should have prisoners of war until He has thoroughly subdued the land. You look for the temporal goods of this world; but Allah looks to the Hereafter: and Allah is Exalted in might, Wise.)

(Al- Anfal: 67)

Warning to Makkah

While the Muslims were celebrating the victory Allah had granted to them, al Haysumān ibn 'Abdullah al Khuzā'i was

making his way toward Makkah. He was the first one to reach the city to announce to its people the defeat of the Quraysh and the fall of its leaders and nobles. Makkah was so shaken by the news that it hardly believed what it heard. Al Haysumān, however, was not angry but insisted on the veracity of his news and shared their grief. When the Makkans finally realized what had happened, they were so shocked that they fell to the ground. Indeed, Abū Lahab was immediately seized by a fever and died seven days later. The Quraysh, consulting together on the course of action to follow, agreed not to mourn their dead lest Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions be pleased at their suffering. They also decided not to seek to ransom their captives lest Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions increase their demands. A number of days passed while the Quraysh bore their tragedy silently. But an occasion soon presented itself. Mikraz ibn Hafs arrived ṣeeking to ransom Suhayl ibn 'Amr. 'Umar ibn al Khattāb hated to see Suhayl return home unharmed. He therefore asked Muhammad (P.B.U.H):

"0 Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), let me pull out Suhayl's front teeth so that he would never be able to exercise his oratory against you." Without hesitation, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) gave this supremely noble answer:

"I shall not mutilate anyone under any circumstance. Allah would mutilate me though I am His Prophet."

Ransom and Conversion of Abū al 'Asī ibn al Rabi'

Zaynab, daughter of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) sent out to ransom her husband Abū al 'Asi ibn al Rabi'. Included in the wealth she sent for the ransom was a necklace that once belonged to Khadijah, the Prophet's wife (P.B.U.H), which the latter had given to her daughter on the day of her wedding to Abū al 'Asi. When the Prophet (P.B.U.H) saw the necklace, he

remembered his former wife and was deeply moved. He said to his companions: "If you find fit to send her captive back to her and to return to her what she paid, do so." The Prophet (P.B.U.H) had also agreed with the captive, Abū al 'Asi that he would divorce his wife Zaynab now that Islam had separated the two spouses. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) sent Zayd ibn Hārithah and another companion to escort Zaynab to Madinah. Soon, however, Abū al 'Asi left Makkah on a trade trip to al Sham. When he passed by the vicinity of Madinah, a Muslim patrol discovered and confiscated his caravan. While in Madinah he managed to reach his wife Zaynab under the shadow of night and begged her to intervene on his behalf. She did and his goods were returned to him. He ran back to Makkah with his goods and there returned to each his due. He asked all his creditors to speak out in case they had any claim against him. When none spoke out and everyone thanked him for his loyalty, he announced to his fellow Makkans: "I witness that there is no God but Allah, and that Muhammad is His servant and prophet (P.B.U.H). By Allah, I have not refrained from joining Islam earlier except out of fear of suspicion that I have run away with your goods. Now that everyone has received his due and my reputation is safe, I declare my conversion." He returned to Madinah, and the Prophet (P.B.U.H) permitted his wife Zaynab to return to him. The Quraysh continued to ransom their captives with varying amounts running from 1000 to 4000 dirhims per person. As for those prisoners who were too poor to afford a ransom, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) granted them their liberty as a gift.

Quraysh Mourns Her Dead

Having ransomed her captives, Quraysh still felt the wounds of her tragedy. Makkah could find no reason to make peace with Muhammad (P.B.U.H), and the memory of defeat at his hand

remained alive for a long time to come. For one whole month, the women of Quraysh mourned their dead. They shaved off their hair, whipped themselves, and cried when a dead man's camel or mare was paraded in the streets. Only Hind, daughter of 'Utbah and wife of Abu Sufyan, did not cry in public at all. She was once asked by other Quraysh women about this mastery of nerve: "Would you not publicly mourn your father, your brother, your uncle, and your other fallen relatives?" She answered: "Were I to mourn them: publicly, the news will reach Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions and the women of Banū al Khazraj who will all be pleased at my misfortune. No, by Allah, I shall not mourn them publicly until I have avenged them. Fat and perfume shall be forbidden to me until we have defeated the enemy. By Allah, if crying would take away sadness from my heart I would have cried. But I know that sadness will not leave me until I have seen with my own eye vengeance taken on the murderers of my dear ones." True to her vow, Hind never touched fat or perfume, nor came close to her husband's bed until the battle of Uhud; and she spared no moment "or occasion to incite her fellow Makkans to war. As for her husband, Abū Sufyān, he vowed never to wash himself until he had defeated Muhammad (P.B.U.H).

14

Between Badr and Uhud

The Effect of Badr in Madinah (January, 624 C.E.)

We have just taken note of the deep effect that the Battle of Badr had upon Makkah. Above all, this effect included the will of the Quraysh to seek revenge against Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and the Muslims at the first opportunity. The effect of this battle in Madinah was, however, much more obvious and more closely connected with the survival of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his fellows. The Jews, associationists, and hypocrites felt Muslim power increase after Badr. They realized that this alien who came to them less than two years ago as an emigrant from Makkah had increased his power and influence almost to the point of dominating not only the Muslims but their city as a whole As we have had occasion to see, the Jews had begun to complain even before Badr that they had had many skirmishes with the Muslims and that were it not for the Covenant of Madinah, the explosion would have come sooner. Consequently, soon after the Muslims' victorious return, the non-Muslims of Madinah began to meet clandestinely and to encourage the composition and recitation of divisive poetry. It was as if the

battlefield had moved from Makkah to Madinah and the dispute from religion to politics. It was not Muhammad's call (P.B.U.H) to Allah that was being fought; rather, it was his political power, his worldly influence, and his success which incited these parties not only to plot against him but even to think of assassinating him. None of this, of course, was beyond Muhammad's ken (P.B.U.H). All the happenings within his city, including the rumors, reached him in constant flow. Simmering in hatred and anger against each other, Muslims and Jews lay in wait for one another.

Muslims Kill Abū 'Afk and 'Asmā'

Before the victory of Badr the Muslims used to fear the Madinese non-Muslims, for they were still too weak to return any aggression inflicted upon them. But when they returned victorious from Badr, Sālim ihn 'Umayr took upon himself the job of getting rid of Abū 'Afk, a tribesman of Banū 'Amr ibn 'Awf. The latter was a poet who composed verses disparaging Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and the Muslims and inciting his own tribe to rise against them. Even after Badr, Aba 'Afk still composed and disseminated Abūsive verse. Sālim attacked Abū 'Afk in his sleep in his own yard and killed him. Likewise, 'Asmā', daughter of Marwan, of the tribe of Banu Umayyah ibn Zayd, used to insult Islam and the Prophet (P.B.U.H) by encouraging bad feeling against the Muslims. The Battle of Badr did not make her reconsider. One day, 'Umayr ibn 'Awf attacked her during the night while she was surrounded by her children, one of whom she was nursing. 'Umayr was weak of sight and had to grope for her. After removing the child from his victim, he killed her; he then proceeded to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and informed him of what he had done. When her relatives returned from the funeral, they asked him whether he had killed her.

"Indeed so," said 'Umayr, "You may fight me if you wish. By Him Who dominates my soul, if you should deny that she composed her Abūsive poetry, I would fight you until either you or I fall." It was this courage of 'Umayr that caused the Banu Khutmah, the tribe of 'Asmā''s husband, to turn to Islam. Having converted to Islam but fearing persecution at the hand of their fellow tribesmen, some of them had hidden their convertion. Henceforth, they no longer did so.

Murder of Ka'b ibn al Ashraf

It is sufficient to add to these two examples the murder of Ka'b ibn al Ashraf. When learning of the fall of the noblemen of Makkah, he exclaimed, "Those were the nobles of Arabia, the kings of mankind. By God, if Muhammad has vanquished these people, the interior of the earth is a better dwelling than the top of it." Having assured himself of the news of defeat, he traveled to Makkah to incite its people against Muhammad (P.B.U.H), to recite war poetry, and to mourn the victims. Furthermore, it was he who falsely accused the Muslim women upon return to Madinah. The reader is perhaps aware of Arab custom and ethic in this regard, and can appreciate the Muslims' anxiety over such false accusations directed against their women's honor. Indeed, they were so incensed and irritated by him that, after unanimously agreeing to kill him, they authorized Abū Nā'ilah to seek his company and win his confidence. Abu Nā'ilah said to Ka'b, "The advent of Muhammad was a misfortune to all of us. The tribes have become our enemies and fought against us; our roads are cut off, our families separated and dispersed, and our lives exhausted." With this and similar remarks, Abu Nā'ilah won Ka'b's confidence and asked him to lend some money to himself and his friends, pledging to pawn his and their armor. Ka'b agreed and asked the Muslims to return. They came to his

house in the outskirts of Madinah after dark. Abū Nā'ilah called out to him. Despite his wife's warning, Ka'b went out to meet his new friend. The two men walked in the night and were later joined by the companions of Abū Nā'ilah, whom Ka'b never suspected. Together they walked for a whole hour and covered a long distance, conversing and complaining about the hardships Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had brought upon their community, thus reassuring Ka'b of their sincerity. From time to time Abū Nā'ilah would touch the hair of Ka'b and exclaim, "I have never smelled such perfume in my life!" Then, after gaining Ka'b's complete trust, Abu Nā'ilah seized him by the hair, pulled him down to the ground, and said to his companions, "Kill the enemy of Allah !" They struck him with their swords.

Jewish Fears and Aggression

The murder of Ka'b increased the fears of the Jews to the point that not one of them felt secure. Nonetheless, they continued to attack Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and the Muslims and incite the people to war. A desert woman came one day to the Jews' market in the quarter of Banū Qaynuqa' seeking to remodel some jewelry at one of their shops. They persistently asked her to remove her veil, but the woman refused. Passing behind her without her knowledge, one of them tacked her robe with a pin to the wall. When the woman got up to leave, the robe was pulled down and her nakedness exposed. The Jews laughed and the woman cried. Seeing what happened, a Muslim passerby jumped upon the shopkeeper and killed him on the spot. The Jews gathered around the Muslim and likewise killed him. The Muslims' relatives called for help against the Jews and a general fight between them and the Banū Qaynuqa' erupted. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) first asked the Jews to stop their attacks and keep the covenant of mutual peace and security or suffer the kind of

treatment meted out to the Quraysh. They ridiculed his request saying: "O Muhammad! Fall not under the illusion that you are invincible. The people with whom you have fought were inexperienced. By God, if you were to turn your arm against us, you will find us adept in the arts of war." After this, little option was left to the Muslims but to fight the Jews. Otherwise, Islam would suffer political deterioration, and the Muslims would become the ridicule of Quraysh when they had just succeeded in making the Quraysh the ridicule of Arabia.

Blockade of Banu Qaynuqa'

For fifteen consecutive days, the Muslims blockaded Banū Qaynuqa' within their quarters, preventing any exit or entry. The Jews had no alternative hut to surrender and yield themselves to Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) judgment. After consulting the Muslim leaders, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) decided to kill his captives. 'Abdullah ibn Ubayy ibn Salul, allied to both Jews and Muslims, asked Muhammad (P.B.U.H) to be merciful toward his allies. When the Prophet (P.B.U.H) declined, 'Abdullah repeated his request, and the Prophet (P.B.U.H) declined again. 'Abdullah then seized the Prophet (P.B.U.H) by his shield and would not let him go. At this, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) seemed rather angry and said with a loud voice, "Leave me; hands off!" Ibn Ubayy replied, "No, by God, I shall not let you go until you give mercy to my ***protégés.*** Three hundred armed and four hundred unarmed men have so far protected me against every sort of people. Would you kill them all at once? By God, I will never agree to such a judgment, for I fear the turns of fortune." 'Abdulla was still a man of great power, having command of the associationists of the Aws and Khazraj tribes, although this power had largely waned with the growth of Muslim power. His insistence caused the Prophet (P.B.U.H) to regain his good

temper and patience, especially since Ubādah ibn al Sāmit had joined ibn Ubayy in making the same plea. He therefore decided to stretch his hand to 'Abdullah, to all his ***protégés,*** whether associationists or Jews, and to grant them all his mercy and benevolence. He decreed only that the Banū Qaynuqa' should evacuate Madinah in punishment for their misdeeds. Once more, ibn Ubayy tried to plead with Muhammad (P.B.U.H) on behalf of his ***proteges*** that they be allowed to remain in Madinah. One of the Muslims, however, prevented ibn Ubayy from reaching the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and forced him to remove himself. The tribesmen of Banu Qaynuqa' then announced that "By Allah, we shall not remain in a city where ibn Ubayy is pushed by force and we are unable to protect him." 'Ubādah subsequently led them in the surrender of their arms and jewel-making machinery and in the exodus from Madinah. They went to Wādi al Qurā where they tarried a while and then proceeded northward until they reached Adhri'āt near the frontier of al Sham, where they settled. Perhaps they went there because they wanted to be nearer the Land of Promise that attracted the Jews then as it still does today.

Political Unity in Madinah

Jewish power in Madinah was considerably reduced after the expulsion of Banū Qaynuqa', for most of the Jews who called themselves Madinese lived far from Madinah, in Khaybar and Umm al Qurā. It was this political objective at which Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had aimed, and it reveals most clearly his political wisdom and foresight. It was the first of a number of political consequences of Muhammad's strategy (P.B.U.H). Nothing could be more harmful to the unity of a state than internal division. And if internal strife is inevitable, it is equally inevitable that one faction will finally establish its authority and

dominion over all the others. Some historians have criticized the conduct of the Muslims toward the Jews. They claim that the incident of the Muslim woman at the jeweler's shop was relatively easy to settle as long as each party had already paid with the loss of one of its members. In answer to this claim, we may say that the victimization of the Jew and the Muslim did not efface the insult which the Muslims suffered at the hands of the Jews in the person of that woman. We may also argue that among the Arabs, more than among any other people, such an insult produces far greater commotion and, according to custom, would have easily caused continual war between two tribes for many long years. Examples of such incidents and the wars which followed them are legion in Arab history. Besides this consideration, however, there is yet a stronger one. The incident at the jeweler's shop was to the blockade of Banū Qaynuqa' and their expulsion from Madinah as the murder of the Austrian heir-apparent in Serajevo in 1914 was to World War I, which enveloped the whole of Europe. The incident was only the spark which inflamed Muslims and Jews and caused them to explode. The fact was that the presence of Muslims, Jews, associationists and ***munafiqun*** in one city with all their disparate ideals and customs made that city a political volcano replete with explosive power. The blockade of Banū Qaynuqa' and their expulsion were a prologue to the coming explosion.

The Campaign of Al Sawiq

After the expulsion of Banu Qaynuqā', the non-Muslims of Madinah naturally withdrew from public life and the city appeared peaceful and quiet. The peace lasted one whole month and would have lasted longer were it not for Abu Sufyān who, unable to bear the memory of Makkan defeat at Badr, resolved to venture again outside of Makkah. He sought to reimpress the

Arabs of the Peninsula with the notion that Quraysh was still strong, dominant and capable of attack and war. He mobilized two hundred Makkans (forty according to other versions) and led them out in secret in the direction of Madinah. Upon arrival in the vicinity of Madinah, they attacked at night a locality called al 'Urayd. Only one Madinese and his client were in the locality at the time. They were killed and their house and orchard destroyed. Abū Sufyān thought his vow to attack Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had now been fulfilled, and he and his associates therefore left the scene quickly, fearing pursuit by the Prophet (P.B.U.H) or his men. The Muslims did in fact pursue Abū Sufyān as far as Qarqarat al Kudr. In order to hasten their flight, Abu Sufyan and his party every now and then threw away some of their provisions of wheat and barley flour. While the Muslims followed their trail, they picked up these provisions; they soon realized, however, that the Makkans had emigrated, and they decided to return home. By this raid Abū Sufyan had sought to console Quraysh after its defeat at Badr and to recapture its lost pride. In fact, his scheme turned against him and his flight in face of his pursuers brought further shame to Quraysh. Because of at ***sawiq** (i.e.,* the flour), which the men of Quraysh dropped on their path, this expedition was given the name "Al Sawiq Campaign."

Threat to ***the Shore Route of al Sham***

The news of this event spread throughout the Arabian Peninsula. The distant tribes remained safe in their distance and concerned themselves but little with the affairs of those Muslims who, until the recent Battle of Badr, were nothing more than a weakly group of refugees in Madinah. Even though the Muslims had resisted Quraysh successfully, expelled Banū Qaynuqā' from Madinah, humbled 'Abdullah ibn Ubayy, frightened Abū Sufyān

away, and broke the traditional pattern of power distribution in the desert, it was only the tribes close to Madinah which realized what threat this whole movement of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) posed. Only they were aware of the serious consequences of the contest for power between the Quraysh of Makkah and the Muslims of Madinah. The shore route to al Sham was Makkah's well trodden path of trade that brought significant economic advantages to these tribes. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had entered into threatening alliances with a number of tribes flanking the shore route and thereby exposed Makkah's commerce to serious danger. The tribes which lived on this commerce feared that Quraysh might now choose another route. Before the Hijrah of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions to Yathrib, indeed before Muslim victory at Badr, these tribes had felt relatively safe and secure. Now they pondered the future and the threat to their prosperity. If Makkan trade were to take another route, how would they sustain themselves in their arid and barren lands?

The Tribes' Fear of the Muslims

The Battle of Badr struck fear into the hearts of these tribes. Their leaders considered whether or not to strike against Madinah now, before the situation got utterly out of hand. Soon enough, it came to the ear of Muhammad (P.B.U.H)that an army of Ghatafan and Sulaym tribesmen were marching in the direction of Madinah; in turn, he led an expedition of Muslim fighters to Qarqarat al Kudr to meet them. When the Muslim force arrived, they found camel traces but no men. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) sent a number of his companions to reconnoiter the upper levels of the valley.

While waiting for them to return, he met a young boy by the name of Yasār and asked him about the whereabouts of the enemy. The boy answered that they had gone to the spring at the

higher extremity of the valley. The Muslims seized the camels they found in the area without battle and divided the booty as the Qur'ān demanded, one-fifth going to Muhammad (P.B.U.H). It was reported that their booty amounted to five hundred camels of which the Prophet (P.B.U.H) took one-fifth and distributed the rest equally among his companions, each one getting two camels. Later on, it reached the ear of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) that Tha'labah and Muhārih tribesmen had gathered at Dhu Amarr with aggressive designs. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) immediately led an expedition of four hundred and fifty fighters to search out the enemy in their own grounds but without meeting them. He did, however, come across a man from Tha'labah whom he questioned regarding the whereabouts of the enemy. This man warned the Prophet (P.B.U.H) that, should they hear of his advance, they would run away to the mountain heights; and he offered his services as a guide. The enemy soon heard of Muhammad's approach (P.B.U.H) and retreated to the mountains. Later learning that a great force of Banū Sulaym tribesmen from Bahrān were advancing on Madinah, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) went out in haste with a Muslim force of three hundred to meet them. A day's distance from Bahrān, the Muslims came across a man from Banū Sulaym who reported, upon questioning by the Prophet, that the tribesmen had dispersed and returned home. All these tribesmen were stricken with panic and fear for their future. They plotted against the Muslims and oft went out in force to fight them. But no sooner did they hear of Muhammad's (P.B.U.H)sortie with his companions to meet them, than they would lose heart and run away.

The Jews' Fear of Muhammad (P.B.U.H)

It was during these times that Ka'b ibn al Ashraf was killed.

This event instilled in the Jews such fear that none of them dared leave his house. Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) blockade and expulsion of Banū Qaynuqa' intensified these fears.

They then came to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) pleading their cause and accusing the Muslims of having killed Ka'b deliberately, in spite of his personal innocence. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) answered, "The man whom you claim to be innocent has indeed harmed us deeply and composed libelous poetry against us. Had he remained quiet like his co-religionists, nothing would have befallen him." After long discussion of the matter. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) invited the Jews to enter with him into a new covenant agreeable to both and which both would henceforth respect. But this covenant did not allay fears. Their plotting against Muhammad (P.B.U.H) continued as later events were to make evident.

Quraysh conducts The 'Iraq Route to al Sham

How was Quraysh to conduct her trade now that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had cut off its route? Makkah, it must be remembered, lived on trade. Without trade, its whole economy was bound to founder. By cutting her trade route as he did, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had practically imposed a blockade on her which would soon destroy her place and influence in Arabia. It is reported that Safwān ibn Umayyah advised the Quraysh at this stage that "Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions have spoiled our trade. What shall we do with him and his companions if they do not remove themselves from the coastal area? The Muslims befriended the tribes who inhabited the coastal regions and most of these have even joined their party. What shall we do with ourselves? To live in Makkah devoid of trade is tantamount to eating up our capital funds and then starving. Our whole life in the city, therefore, depends upon our

summer trade with al Sham and our winter trade with Abyssinia." To this al Aswad ibn 'Abd al Muttalib replied that the Makkans ought to abandon the coastal route to al Sham and henceforth take the eastern route passing through al 'Iraq. To help satisfy this requirement, al Aswad suggested to Safwan that he should appoint Furāt ibn Hayyān, a tribesman of Banū Bakr ibn Wā'il, to show him the new route he should take. Furāt explained to them that the eastern route was safe because none of Muhammad's companions (P.B.U.H) ever approached it, but that it was an empty, waterless desert. The desert did not frighten Safwān because the season was winter and the need for water relatively small. He gathered merchandise amounting to one hundred thousand Dirhams and prepared to start off toward al Sham. Nu'aym ibn Mas'ūd al Ashja'i, who was in Makkah at the time, learned of the preparation of this caravan. Upon returning to Madinah he reported this news to Muhammad (P.B.U.H). The Prophet (P.B.U.H) sent Zayd ibn Hārithah with a hundred riders to intercept the caravan at the oasis of al Qardah in the center of Najd. The Makkans ran away at the encounter, leaving behind the caravan which the Muslims took away as booty. Upon Zayd's return to Madinah, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) took one-fifth of the booty and divided the rest among his men. Furāt ibn Hayyān, the guide of the caravan, accepted Islam and thereby saved himself.

Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) Marriage to Hafsah

Did all these successes convince Muhammad (P.B.U.H) that his position was really secure? Did his present victories delude him about the dangers of the future? Did the fear of Makkah and the various booty he had seized from Quraysh persuade him that the word of Allah and His Prophet (P.B.U.H) was really safe and secure? Did his faith in Allah's timely help and providence cause

him to let things take care of themselves on the grounds that divine government is supreme? Certainly not. Although time and space belong to Allah, yet the world runs according to unalterable laws innate to human nature and everywhere the same. Quraysh, for instance, enjoyed mastery over Arabia. It was not possible to expect her to give it up without a fight. Therefore, the fate of the caravan of Safwan ibn Umayyah succeeded only in increasing their eagerness to avenge themselves and to double their preparation for the day of vindication. Neither could this emigrate Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) vision, foresight, or wise planning. It was necessary therefore, in anticipation of hostilities, for him to seek to strengthen his relationship with his fellow Muslims. However closely Islam had knitted the wills of its adherents and however strong the resultant social fabric, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) must have deemed further consolidation and unity desirable. For him to link himself to them in familial bonds was regarded by Muhammad (P.B.U.H) as well as by his companions as meeting this noble objective. Thus he married Hafsah, daughter of 'Umar ibn al Khattab, just as formerly he had married 'A'ishah, daughter of Abū Bakr. The former was the widow of Khunays, an early convert to Islam, who died seven months previously. The Prophet's (P.B.U.H) marriage to Hafsah increased ibn al Khattāb's attachment to him. In the same spirit, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) gave his daughter Fātimah in marriage to 'All, his cousin, though the latter had loved Muhammad (P.B.U.H) perhaps more than anyone else and had remained loyal to him ever since he was a child. When the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) daughter, Ruqayyah, passed away, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) gave 'Uthman ibn 'Affān, her bereaved husband, his other daughter, Umm Kulthum. Thus he united in a bond of family and blood Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, and 'Ali, the four strongest personalities of his community. By this and similar action, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) guaranteed the solidarity of Muslim ranks. He assured them that the booty they seized in

their conquests would be theirs. He encouraged them to go to war by combining in a single objective service to Allah and fighting for His sake with the desire to make up their lost possessions in Makkah with captured Makkan booty. Muhammad (P.B.U.H), by following the news of Quraysh very closely throughout this period, always kept himself abreast of her preparations for war. It was common knowledge that Quraysh was preparing for her day of revenge and for the reopening of the coastal trade route to al Sham. She was preparing for a war to preserve her commercial and religious position without which it was impossible for her to exist.

15

The Campaign of Uhud

Quraysh's Preparations for Revenge

Ever since the Battle of Badr, Quraysh had not been at ease. The debacle of its al Sawiq campaign and the recent loss of its caravan on the route of al 'Iraq to the Muslims under the command of Zayd ibn Hārithah had intensified its resentment and bent its mind upon the avenging of Badr. The tribesmen of Quraysh, lords, notables, and noblemen of Makkah, could not forget their fallen brethren. How could they do so while Makkah women were still mourning their sons, brothers, fathers, husbands, and other relatives? Ever since Abū Sufyān ibn Harb reached Makkah with the caravan that had caused the confrontation at Badr, he, together with those who participated in the battle and other notables of Quraysh, such as Jubayr ibn Mut'im, Safwan ibn Umayyah, 'Ikrimah ibn Abū Jahl, al Hārith ibn Hishām, Huwaytib ibn 'Abd al 'Uzzā and others, agreed to

deposit the whole caravan in the community house of Makkah (Dār al Nadwah) for public auction so that the proceeds might be used in preparing an army to fight Muhammad (P.B.U.H). Their plans called for equipping a great strong army and inciting the tribes to join in this war of revenge. They had already incited Abū 'Azzah, the poet, a captive of Badr who was forgiven by the Prophet (P.B.U.H), to defect to their side. Likewise, they invited their Abyssinian clients to join ranks with them. The women of Quraysh, for their part, insisted on accompanying the army in order to witness and to enjoy the revenge. In deliberating whether or not to permit them to do so, some argued that for the women to march alongside the men and sing the songs of war would remind the soldiers of their fallen relatives and further arouse them to fight. Those who argued in this vein were truly desperate, for they were unwilling to return to their homes without either avenging themselves or perishing in the process. Others thought otherwise. Some said, "0 Men of Quraysh, it is not wise to expose your women to your enemies. Since it is not absolutely impossible that you may have to run away for your lives, shame would then befall your women." As the people deliberated, Hind, daughter of 'Utbah and wife of Abū Sufyān said "Indeed! We shall accompany the army and watch the fighting. None may stand in our way or force us back to our homes as happened at al Juhfah' on that ***dies nefastus*** when our beloved ones fell in battle. And on the Day of Badr, had the women been there to witness the soldiers run away from the battle front, this would never have happened." Hind thus attributed the defeat at Badr to the absence of women to arouse their men to sufficient self-exertion in battle. Her little speech sealed the argument, and the Quraysh began its march against Muhammad (P.B.U.H) together with the women who were now led by the most resentful woman of all, Hind, who suffered at Badr the loss of two dearest relatives, her father and brother. The Makkan army started off in solemn procession from Dār al

Nadwah in three divisions. Only a hundred men were from Thaqif whereas all the others were Makkans and Arab or Abyssinian clients of Makkah equipped with great amounts of armour, two hundred horses, and three thousand camels. They also counted seven hundred men clad in heavy armour.

The Makkans' March against Madinah

While all these preparations were taking place with the consent and enthusiasm of everyone, al 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al Muttalib, the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) uncle, watched from a distance and pondered. Despite his loyalty to the faith of his fathers and the religion of his people, he was moved in his feeling toward Muhammad (P.B.U.H) by a sense of admiration complemented by a feeling of tribal solidarity within him. He recalled how well Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had treated him on the Day of Badr. It was the same sort of admiration and tribal solidarity which had previously moved him to conclude the Great Covenant of al 'Aqabah with al Aws and al Khazraj tribes of Madinah, for the purpose of guaranteeing the same safeguard and protection to Muhammad (P.B.U.H), his nephew, as those which belonged to Madinese women and children. At the time, he warned those tribes that were they ever to falter in providing such protection to his nephew, they should withdraw and give up Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) protection to his own people. The same kind of feeling stirred within him when he saw Quraysh's ubiquitous enthusiasm against Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and when he witnessed this great army marching forward toward Madinah. He wrote a letter describing the whole preparation, military equipment, and number of Makkan soldiers and gave it to a man from Ghifar whom he trusted to deliver to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) in time. Soon, the Quraysh army reached al Abwā' where Aminah, daughter of Wahb and mother of Muhammad

(P.B.U.H), was buried. Some Makkans thought of digging up her grave. However, their leaders stopped them, fearful lest they set a precedent among the Arabs, and recalling that the Muslims too could retaliate with the Makkans' own dead) buried in their vicinities. Upon arrival at the locality of al 'Aqiq, the Makkan army camped at the foot of Mount Uhud, five miles from MadInah.

Al 'Abbās's Message to the Prophet (P.B.U.H)

The man from Ghifār, carrying the letter of al 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al Muttalib, arrived at Madinah and found that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was at Quba'. There he proceeded; and, upon meeting Muhammad (P.B.U.H) at the door of the mosque when he was just about to leave, handed over the letter to him. The message was read for Muhammad (P.B.U.H) by Ubayy ibn Ka'b who was then asked to keep its contents secret. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) proceeded to Madinah and called upon Sa'd ibn al Rabi' at his home, told him the content of the message, and asked him to keep it secret. Sa'd's wife, however, who was at home at the time overheard the conversation and the matter could no longer remain secret. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) then sent Anas and Mu'nis, the two sons of Fadālah, to reconnoiter the movements of Quraysh. They found out that the army had approached Madinah and let its horses and camels loose to graze in the plantations surrounding the city. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) then sent another scout, al Hubāb ibn al Mundhir ibn al Jamūh. When enough information had reached him to confirm the news his uncle had sent, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) became gravely concerned and perplexed.

Salamah ibn Salāmah reported thereafter that the Quraysh cavalry was coming closer and closer to Madinah and that they were about to enter the city. He rushed to his people and warned

them of the imminent danger. All the inhabitants of Madinah were apprehensive due to the descriptions of the might and equipment of the enemy. Their Muslim leaders even saw fit to guard the person of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) with their own swords throughout the night. Sentries were posted at all corners of the city. When morning came, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) called upon all Muslims, whether sincere or insincere, for a public consultation on the fate of the city and the means by which they should meet the enemy.

Varying Opinions on Madinah's Defense

The Prophet (P.B.U.H) suggested that the Muslims should hold fast to Madinah, reinforce themselves therein, and keep out the Quraysh. Should the enemy decide to attack, the Muslims would fight from within and, knowing their own ground, should be better able to repulse the enemy. 'Abdullah ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl agreed with the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and added: "Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), in the past we always fought our enemies in Madinah by placing our women and children safely in the upper stories of the houses and building walls connecting one house with another on the perimeter of the city, thus making the town a single fortress. When the enemy advanced on us, the women and children would hit them with stones with which they had been amply provided while we would meet them with our swords in the streets. Our city, 0 Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), has never been violated by an enemy because none has ever entered it without meeting defeat. On the other hand, we have never met an enemy outside our city without loss to ourselves. Please listen to me in this matter and follow this wise plan which I inherited from the greatest leaders and wise men of Madinah who have gone before."

The Prophet (P.B.U.H) as well as the prominent among the Prophet's companions, whether Muhājirun or Ansār, agreed with this view. However, the young Muslims who had not participated in Badr, as well as others who had witnessed Badr but became thereafter convinced that Muslim power was invincible, desired to go out of Madinah and meet the enemy wherever he might be. They were disturbed by the idea that unless they spoke to this effect, they might be suspected of cowardice. They argued that since the enemy was not too far from Madinah, the Muslims would be stronger than at Badr when they fought many miles away from their people and land. An advocate of this view said:

"I hate to see the Quraysh return to Makkah saying that they have locked up Muhammad (P.B.U.H) in the houses and buildings of Yathrib and have prevented him and his companions from going out. Such talk would undoubtedly incite the Quraysh to further acts of aggression. Now that they have entered our very orchards and plantations, shown off their numbers and .strength, and incited the Arab tribes and Abyssinian clients to follow them, how could we allow them to blockade us in our own homes and let them return without injury? Should we do that, they would surely return to raid our frontiers, to blockade us again, and to cut off our roads to the outside world." A number of other speakers spoke in favor of going out to meet the enemy, arguing that in case Allah gave them victory they would have met their objective. This would be a substantiation of the promise which Allah made to His Prophet (P.B.U.H). On the other hand, should they be defeated and die, they would have fallen as martyrs and would have won Paradise.

Call to Bravery and Martyrdom

This bold talk about bravery and martyrdom moved every Muslim heart and incited the community as a whole to spring to its feet in enthusiasm over a prospect of fighting in Allah's cause. With their eyes on Muhammad (P.B.U.H), their hearts filled with faith in Allah, in His Prophet (P.B.U.H), Book, and Judgment, the image of their victory over this aggressive force standing out to attack them dissipated every other idea. They began to imagine themselves marching deep within enemy ranks, cutting them down with their swords and seizing their booty. The picture of paradise hovering before their eyes as martyrs in Allah's cause was just as the Qur'ān had described it. It was a garden replete with everything desirable and beautiful where they would be reunited with the martyrs of Badr who preceded them, therein to dwell eternally, and

﴿ لَا يَسْمَعُونَ فِيهَا لَغْوًا وَلَا تَأْثِيمًا ۝٢٥ إِلَّا قِيلًا سَلَٰمًا سَلَٰمًا ۝٢٦ ﴾

سورة الواقعة الآيتان ٢٥-٢٦

(No frivolity will they hear therein, nor any mischief- Only the saying, "Peace! Peace.)

(Al-Waqi'ah: 25-26)

At this juncture, Khaythamah Abū Sa'd ibn Khaythamah said: "Perhaps, Allah will give us victory over them, or our turn will be one of martyrdom. Despite my great desire to be at Badr, it was not my fortune to go, but my son's. Allah was pleased to grant him his martyrdom. Last night, I saw him in a dream calling to me, 'Hurry up, Father, and join us in Paradise, for here I have truly found everything that Allah had promised me.' By

Allah, Prophet, of Allah (P.B.U.H), I now long to join my son in Paradise. I am advanced in years and my hair has turned gray. Surely do I yearn to meet my Lord." Overwhelmed by this and similar speeches, the Muslims present inclined toward going out to meet the enemy. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) nonetheless advised against it, as if apprehensive of what it was to bring. But everybody insisted, and he had to agree with them. Community consensus and decision had always been his system of worldly government, and he departed from it only in case of a direct revelation to the contrary.

Discipline and Mutual Consultation

The day was a Friday. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) led the prayer and informed the congregation that their victory depended on their patience and careful preparation for war. After the mid-afternoon prayers, he returned home with Abū Bakr and 'Umar, who helped him put on his armour and handed to him his sword. In the meantime, the people were waiting outside and arguing with one another. Usayd ibn Hudayr and Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh, who had argued in favor of remaining in Madinah, addressed the people in these words: "You must have noticed that the Prophet (P.B.U.H) was of the opinion that we should remain in Madinah and meet our enemy here. In saying what you did, you dissuaded him from this position against his will. Had you not better delegate the matter to him entirely, follow his verdict, and obey him ?" The protagonists of the opposite view were suddenly struck by the idea that they might have opposed the Prophet (P.B.U.H) in a matter in which Allah might have guided him. When he came out of his house wearing his armour and carrying his sword, they came to him pleading that they did not mean to disagree with him. They declared themselves prepared to abide by his and Allah's judgment whatever that may be. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) answered: "I have previously called you to follow such a course but you resisted. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) is not one to put away his armour and sword once he puts them on until Allah's judgment is rendered between him and his enemies. Obey me henceforth. Victory will be yours provided you bear yourselves in patience." Thus, besides the principle of consensus, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) placed order at the foundation of government. Once the community has made up its mind after due deliberation, it should not alter it in haste, but endeavor resolutely to see through. It is then the responsibility of its executive to see to it that the course followed does indeed accomplish the objective sought.

The Muslims' March

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) set out at the head of his force in the direction of Uhud. His first stop was at a locality called al Shaykhān where he met a group of people unknown to him and who, upon inquiry, turned out to be the Jewish allies of ibn Ubayy. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) ruled that unbelievers may not be taken as allies against Un-believers unless they become Muslims. The Jewish column therefore was commanded to return to MadInah. The friends of ibn Ubayy began to whisper in his ear that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had slighted him by disregarding the ancestral wisdom which he had put at the disposal of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) but which the latter had rejected in favor of the childish views of the Muslims. Soon ibn Ubayy became convinced that the Muslims were following the wrong course and returned with his own men to Madinah. The sincere believers who remained with the Prophet (P.B.U.H) numbered seven hundred as against the three thousand Makkan fighters of the Quraysh tribe.

Ordering the Ranks for Battle

The Muslim force reached Uhud toward the morning. They crossed the valleys and ascended over dunes. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) ordered his companions in rows and placed fifty archers on the side of the mountain. Fearing that the enemy might surprise the Muslims from the rear, he ordered the archers to protect that side under all circumstances. Specifically, he commanded them never to leave their place regardless of whether the Muslims plunged into the enemy camp and won, or fell in their places at the hand of the enemy. Should the enemy

cavalry charge, it was the duty of the archers to repel that charge with arrows. He commanded everyone not to begin the fight except on his command, but he ordered the archers to attack the enemy on sight and before he reached Muslim ranks.

Quraysh Women

Quraysh, too, ordered its forces in rows, placing Khālid ibn al Walid on the right and 'Ikrimah ibn Abū Jahl on the left. They gave the command to 'Abd al Uzzā Talhah ibn Abū Talliah. The women were running back and forth between the lines of the fighters striking their drums and tamburines and, led by Hind, daughter of 'Utbah and wife of Abū Sufyān, sang:

"Ho Ho, Sons of 'Abd al Dār!
Ho Ho, Guardians of the land!
Strike down your enemies!
Advance forward and we shall embrace you!
Advance forward and we shall spread the carpets for you!
Turn your backs and we shall avoid you!
Turn your backs and we shall never come to you !"

Abū Dujānah and His Death-Scarf

Thus the two parties were poised for battle and the leaders aroused their own men to fight, the Quraysh by summoning the memory of Badr and its victims, the Muslims by remembering Allah and the promise of His victory. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) raised his sword in front of his companions and invited them to come forward to get it .provided they could fulfill one condition. A number of them rushed to him but were sent back. Abū Dujānah Simāk ibn Kharashah, brother of Banū Sā'idah, rose and asked, "What is the provision, 0 Prophet of Allah

(P.B.U.H)?" The Prophet (P.B.U.H) answered, "That you continue to strike the enemy with it until it breaks." Abū Dujānah was a very brave man who had a red scarf which, as everybody knew, signaled that he was bent on fighting until victory or death. As he drew this scarf and wrapped it around his head, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) gave him the sword. He took it and started to dance in joy between two rows of fighters, as he was wont to do before entering into battle. When Muhammad (P.B.U.H) saw him perform this dance, he said that "Such would be hateful to Allah except under the circumstances.

Abū 'Amir, slave of 'Amr ibn Sayfī al Awsi, was the first to start the hostilities. Previously, he had moved from Madinah to Makkah in order to arouse the Quraysh to fight Muhammad (P.B.U.H). He had not witnessed the Battle of Badr. Anxious not to miss this time, he came to Uhud with a retinue of soldiers consisting of fifteen al Aws tribesmen and a number of slaves from Makkah. Once he claimed that he could persuade his fellow tribesmen who converted to Islam to fight with Quraysh against Muhammad (P.B.U.H). Putting this large claim to the test, he called to them and announced his identity. But his tribesmen replied with curses and damnations. Infuriated at the result, he approached Muslim ranks and started to fight. To the left, 'Ikrimah ibn Abū Jahl with a company of slaves attempted to penetrate Muslim lines at the flank. The Muslims met them with stones and caused them to withdraw. At this moment, Hamzah ibn 'Abd al Muttalib gave the war cry, "Die! Die !" and sprang forward into the thick of the Quraysh lines. Talhah ibn Abū Talhah, carrier of the Makkan flag, sprang forward asking the Muslims to duel with him. 'Ali ibn Abu Tālib advanced forth to fight with him. The encounter was soon over as 'Ali struck his enemy a single fatal stroke. Exalted, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and the Muslims yelled, "Allah is Great," and advanced for the general charge. Abu Dujānah, with the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) sword in hand and its head wrapped in the "scarf of death," as he called

it, killed everyone with whom he fought. He saw one Makkan fighting a Muslim with his fingernails. As he prepared to deal with him, he discovered that it was a woman and that it was Hind, daughter of 'Utbah. He immediately withdrew and saved the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) sword from ever touching a woman's blood.

The Martyrdom of Hamzah

The Quraysh forces advanced ferociously, and the general ***mêlée*** between the disproportionately balanced forces began. The larger army was motivated by resentment and a consuming will to vengeance; the smaller by its faith in Allah and His religion and the will to defend its homeland as well as its interests. Those who sought revenge surpassed them in number and equipment. They were heartened and cheered by the women, each of whom promised one soldier or another her most precious possessions if he could only avenge for her previous loss of her father or brother, husband, or relative. Hamzah ibn 'Abd al Muttalib was one of the greatest and most courageous of Arab heroes. At Badr, it was he who killed 'Utbah, father of Hind, as well as her brother and a number of other close relatives of hers. True to his reputation, Hamzah distinguished himself in battle on the Day of Uhud. He killed Artāt ibn 'Abd Shurahbil, Sibā' ibn 'Abd al 'Uzzā al Ghubshani, and a number of others. His sword seemed invincible. Hind had promised Wahshi, the Abyssinian client of Jubavr, a great amount of wealth should he succeed in killing Hamzah. To encourage him further, Jubayr ibn Mut'am, his master whose uncle was also killed at Badr, promised Wahshi his freedom if he succeeded. The story following was later told by Wahshi: "I set out among others, planning to fight with my javelin as all Abyssinians do, for I hardly ever miss my objective with it. When the great encounter took place, I looked around for Hamzah and caught him with my eyes. I saw him

right in the middle of the ***mêlée,*** standing out as clearly as a black camel in the herd and felling everybody around him with his sword. I swung my javelin and, making sure it was well balanced, I threw it at him and it fell right on him hitting him in the abdomen and piercing him through. I left my javelin and its victim pinned down under it until he died. Later on I came to him and pulled my javelin away and returned then to the camp and fought no longer. I had killed him in order to win my liberty, and that I had now achieved. When I returned to Makkah, my manumission was officially recognized."

Those in the Muslim camp fell into two categories: The sincere Muslims and the ***munafiqūn.*** The prototype of the latter was Quzman, who joined Islam but never really believed in it. When the Muslim army left Madinah, Quzman refused to march. The next morning the women of Banu Zafar began to shame him for his cowardice. "0 Quzmān," they said to him, "have you lost your sense of shame or have you become a woman to stay behind while all the men are out fighting?" Incensed, Quzmān went to his home, put on his armour, bow, arrows and sword, and set out to join the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) army. He was known to be a brave soul. When he arrived on the scene, he found the Prophet (P.B.U.H) ordering the ranks of the Muslim soldiers. He went straight through to the first row and was the first to throw himself into the battle. He shot his arrows and pierced many an enemy's chest. Toward the end of the day, he was still determined to fall fighting, and he continued to fight until he did. He killed seven of the enemy in one short hour in addition to all the others whom he had killed with his arrows. Passing by him and finding him about to die, Abu al Ghaydaq congratulated him on his achievement of martyrdom. Quzman answered, "0 Abu 'Amir, I have not really fought for the faith. I have fought only in order to prevent Quraysh from invading our territory and violating our homes and properties. By Allah, I fought only in order to protect my people and my land. Without those I would

never have done it."

The other group were the true believers. They were not over seven hundred strong and they faced three thousand of the enemy. What has so far been said concerning the deeds of Hamzah and Abu Dujānah reveals an idea of the power of Muslim morale. This was a power before which the soldiers of Quraysh reeled like worms, despite all the courage and heroism for which they were famous throughout Arabia. Their flag was carried so proudly that none would allow it to lay fallen; and as soon as it fell, another soldier would raise it anew. When 'Ali ibn Abu Tālib killed its carrier, Talhah ibn Abu Talhah, it was immediately raised again by 'Uthmān ibn Abu Talhah. And when 'Uthmān fell at the hands of hamzah, it was raised again by Abū Sa'd ibn Abu Talhah. At the moment he raised the Makkan flag he shouted at the Muslims, "Do you pretend that your martyrs are in paradise and ours in hell? By Allah, you lie! If anyone of you truly believes such a story, let him come forward and fight with me." His challenge attracted 'Ali who killed him on the spot. The Banū 'Abd ai Dār kept on carrying the Makkan flag until they lost nine men. The last of them was Su'āb, the Abyssinian slave of Banu 'Abd al Dār, whose right hand carrying the flag was struck by the aforementioned Quzmān. Su'āb seized the flag and raised it high with the left arm. Quzman struck it with his sword again. Having lost both arms, Su'āb now seized the flag and pressed it to his chest with whatever was left of his arms and even bent his back to support it while saying "O Bani 'Abd al Dār, have I not done my duty?" Either Quzmān or Sa'd ibn Abu Waqqas killed him. When all the party in charge of the Makkan flag were decimated, the Makkan associationists realized their defeat and began to run for their lives. Even their women were now exposed, and the statue which they had brought with them on camel back to bless them had now fallen to the ground and was broken.

Muslim Victory on the Morning of Uhud

Actually, the victory the Muslims achieved on that morning was a genuine war miracle. Some may attribute it to the sound judgment of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) in placing the archers on the mountain side so that they could hit the enemy cavalry before they could reach the Muslim lines while at the same time protecting the rear of all Muslim forces. Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) good judgment is undoubtedly true. But it is equally true that when six hundred Muslims threw themselves against an enemy force five times greater than theirs, they could not possibly have done so and achieved such bravery unless their deeds sprang from their candid faith in the righteousness of their own cause. Whoever believes in the cause of truth is not bothered by the material preponderance of any power, however great, and his will would not be shaken even if all the forces of evil rallied against him. Sincere faith in Allah Almighty is the greatest power, the greatest idea. It is invincible. As long as its subject remains sincere and loyal to it, there is no doubt that sincere faith must obtain all it wills. Therefore, Quraysh was shattered and defeated with all its three thousand fighters by the six hundred Muslims. That is why the women of Quraysh were about to be taken captive. When the Muslims followed up their enemies far from the battlefield, those who remained fell upon the large booty left behind. Indeed, many Muslims were thus drawn away from pursuing the defeated enemy.

The Muslims' Preoccupation with Booty

The archers whom Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had commanded not to leave the mountainside even to rescue the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and his companions from what might seem to them to

be certain death watched the battle from their height, and saw the defeated enemy running away and the pursuing Muslims seizing the booty. This whetted their appetites. For a moment, they argued with one another in seeking to convince themselves that no purpose would be served by keeping their position now that Allah had defeated their enemy. As they watched their fellow Muslims gather the booty, they strongly felt like joining them. When a wiser voice reminded them that the Prophet (P.B.U.H) had commanded them not to leave their position even for rescuing the Muslims from certain death, they rationalized that he had not intended for them to remain in their positions that long, certainly not after the defeat of the enemy. 'Abdullah ibn Jubayr advised them not to violate the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) commandment whatever the circumstances. The majority did not heed his advice, however, but descended to the plain. Ten men only kept their ground. This provided Khālid ibn al Walid, Commander of the Makkan cavalry, the golden opportunity to attack and seize the mountainside where the archers were. He elimi nated the remainder of the Muslim archers and occupied the mountainside. The other Muslims were not aware of what was happening, preoccupied as they were in gathering everything of value on the field. After he occupied the mountainside, ibn al Walid signaled to the Quraysh to attack again and he advanced upon the Muslims from the rear. The defeated Makkans rallied to his call, turned about and resumed the lighting. The Muslims dropped the booty they carried, drew their swords and defended themselves. But their victory was lost. Their ranks were disorderly and their unity was in shreds. Quraysh took a heavy toll of Muslim lives. Earlier, the Muslims were fighting by the command of Allah and out of their faith in Him and in victory; now they fought in order to save their own lives from certain death and humiliation. Earlier, the Muslims were fighting in a united and orderly manner, under a strong and resolute leadership; now they fought without order or leadership. So great was the dis-

order that some may have struck their own fellows. Finally, when somebody raised the cry that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was killed, chaos reined supreme, Muslim morale plunged to the bottom and Muslim soldiers fought sporadically and purposelessly. This chaos was responsible for their killing of Husayl ibn Jābir Abu Hudhayfah by mistake, as everyone sought to save his own skin by taking flight except such men as 'Ali ibn Abū Tālib whom Allah had guided and protected.

The Prophet's (P.B.U.H) injury

When the Quraysh heard of the fall of Muhammad (P.B.U.H), their forces fell upon Muslim ranks with renewed vigor. Every one of them was seeking to hit Muhammad (P.B.U.H), even if dead, that he might have the honor and pride of having participated in his downfall. The Muslims who stood close to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) protected him and drew a close circle around him. Their faith had come back to them and they now stood their ground anxious to lay down their lives in order to save their Prophet (P.B.U.H). The fact is that one of the stones thrown by the Quraysh had hit the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and caused him to fall to the ground, with a cut lip, a wounded face, and a broken tooth. The stone that hit the Prophet (P.B.U.H) was thrown by 'Utbah ibn Abū Waqqas. It landed with such force that it pushed two links of Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) helmet chain into his wound. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) attempted to stand up behind a shield of his companions, but he fell again, this time in a hole which Abu 'Amir had dug as a trap for the Muslims. 'Ali ibn Abu Tālib ran to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and gave him his hand and, together with Talhah ibn 'Ubaydullah, lifted him again to his feet. He and his companions then began to retreat toward the mountain of Uhud while fighting their pursuing enemies.

Desperate Defense of the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) Person

In a moment, however, a number of other Muslims joined the circle of the Prophet, and these were so determined and desperate in their defense that they formed an impregnable barrier between the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and the enemy. Umm 'Amarah al Ansāriyyah, the Madinese, had been on the battlefield since the morning to give water to the Muslim fighters to drink. When the Muslims suffered defeat, she threw down her water jug, drew her sword, and joined the other fighters around the Prophet (P.B.U.H) for his protection. She shot a number of arrows until she herself was wounded. Abū Dujānah placed himself as a shield before the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and even exposed his back to the falling arrows lest they should hit the Prophet (P.B.U.H). Sa'd ibn Abu Waqqas shot arrows which Muhammad (P.B.U.H) passed to him while lending him encouragement. A little earlier, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) himself was using his bow and shot at the enemy until the string of his bow broke. Those who thought that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had perished, including Abu Bakr and 'Umar, went toward the mountain and sat down. When Anas ibn al Nadr inquired why they were giving up so soon, and was told that the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) had been killed, he retorted: "And what would you do with yourselves and your lives after Muhammad (P.B.U.H) died? Rise, and die like he did." He turned, charged against the enemy, and fought gallantly. He kept on fighting despite his wounds and did not give up until he was hit seventy times. His body was so torn up with wounds that only his sister could identify it by means of his fingers alone.

The Prophet's (P.B.U.H) Live

Quraysh took the news of Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) death

with exhilaration and joy, and Abu Sufyān began a search for his body on the battlefield. The Muslims around Muhammad (P.B.U.H) did not deny the news of his death in obedience to Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) own commandment designed to prevent any new onslaught by the Quraysh against him. Ka'b ibn Mālik, however, came close to the circle and, bending himself over Abu Dujānah, noticed that the Prophet (P.B.U.H) was there and still alive. He proclaimed at the top of his voice: "O Believers, be glad, for the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) is here and still alive." The Prophet (P.B.U.H), however, asked him to keep quiet. The Muslims then reinforced the protective circle around the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and moved with him farther up toward the mountain; they were led by Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Ali ibn Abū Talib, al Zubayr ibn al 'Awwam and others. The cry of Ka'b brought about a different effect upon the Quraysh. Most of the latter did not believe it but regarded it as an enemy trick designed to rally the Muslims to fight again. A few Makkans ran toward the Muslims shouting, "Where is Muhammad (P.B.U.H)? Death to me if he lives!" The Prophet (P.B.U.H) hurled the javelin of al Hārith ibn al Simmah at the on coming party. It hit the leader, threw him off his horse, and killed him. When the Muslims reached the entrance to the valley on the other side, 'Ali filled his shield with water, washed Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) face and poured some water on his head. Abu 'Ubaydah ibn al Jarrāh pulled out the two links of chain from Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) wound, and his two front teeth fell off in the process. While this was taking place, Khālid ibn al Walid pursued the Muslims on the hillside with a small force of Makkan cavalry. But they were repelled by 'Umar ibn al Khattāb and a number of the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) companions. The Muslims continued their retreat. So great was their exhaustion that when it was noon, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) led the prayer seated, suffering as he was from his wounds, and the Muslims prayed behind him seated also.

Mutilation of the Muslim Dead

Quraysh was intoxicated with her victory and deemed her vengeance for Badr fully taken. The occasion gave Abu Sufyān such cause for pride that he said, "A great day was won against the day of Badr. Next year will see the same." His wife Hind, daughter of 'Utbah, was not satisfied with this victory. Nor was she satisfied with the death of Hamzah ibn 'Abd al Muttalib. With her women companions she ran toward the battlefield and began the mutilation of the Muslim dead. She cut off a number of noses and ears in order to make a string and a necklace of them. She then cut the body of Hamzah open and pulled out his liver which she began to chew. These ugly deeds of hers and of her women companions were so unbecoming that even Abū Sufyan, her husband, denounced her. He said to one of the Muslims: "Your dead were indeed mutilated; but I swear by God that I have never approved of such deeds. How can I be accused of commanding them?"

Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) Mourning of Hamzah

The Quraysh returned to Makkah after burying their dead. The Muslims returned to the battlefield to bury theirs, and Muhammad (P.B.U.H) sought out the body of his uncle, Hamzah. When he saw that his body was mutilated, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) felt profoundly sad and vowed that he would never allow such a hateful thing to happen again and that he would someday avenge these evil deeds. It was on this occasion that the Revelation was made:

﴿ وَإِنْ عَاقَبْتُمْ فَعَاقِبُوا۟ بِمِثْلِ مَا عُوقِبْتُم بِهِۦ ۖ وَلَئِن صَبَرْتُمْ لَهُوَ

خَيْرٌ لِّلصَّٰبِرِينَ ﴿١٢٦﴾ وَٱصْبِرْ وَمَا صَبْرُكَ إِلَّا بِٱللَّهِ ۚ وَلَا تَحْزَنْ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا تَكُ فِى ضَيْقٍ مِّمَّا يَمْكُرُونَ ﴿١٢٧﴾ ﴾

سورة النحل الآيتان ١٢٦-١٢٧

(And if you Punish, let your punishment be proportionate to the wrong that has been done to you: but if you show patience that is indeed the best (course) for those who are patient. And do be patient, for your patience is but with the help from Allah; nor grieve over them, and distress not yourself because of their plots.)

(Al-Nahl:126-127)

The Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) then pardoned, bore patiently, and laid down an absolute prohibition against mutilation.. Hamzah was given burial on the spot where he lay, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) conducting the funerary prayer and Hamzah's sister, Safiyyah, daughter of 'Abd al Muttalib, participating. All prayed for Allah to show them His mercy. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) then commanded burial for all the dead, which numbered seventy; and, when this was completed, he led his party back to Madinah. The Muslims were quite sad and solemn for having encountered such defeat after their victory, and such humiliation after their splendid accomplishment. They fully realized that it was the archers' disobedience of Muhammad (P.B.U.H)as well as the Muslims' preoccupation with booty that had exposed them to this sad turn of events.

Need for Recapturing the Lost Prestige

The Prophet (P.B.U.H) went home and thought deeply. The

Jews, the ***munāfiqūn,*** and the associationists of Madinah were elated at the news of the setback. Muslim power in Madinah had been such that none could effectively oppose it. Now it stood ready to be shaken. 'Abdullah ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl did not participate in the Battle of Uhud because Muhammad (P.B.U.H)as well as the Muslims did not wish to listen to his advice. Moreover, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) declared himself angry against 'Abdullah's clients, the Jews. Were this setback at Uhud the last judgment on the Muslims ***vis-à-vis*** the Quraysh, the fate of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions would have been easily disposed of by the tribesmen of the Peninsula, and their political power in Yathrib would have crumbled. The Muslims would have become objects of universal derision. In such circumstances, the associationists and pagans would surely have been emboldened to attack the religion of Allah, and that would have been the greatest tragedy. It was necessary, therefore, to direct some strike against the enemy in order to offset the defeat of Uhud and to recapture Muslim morale as well as to instill fear in the hearts of the Jews and the ***munafiqun.*** Such a measure was necessary if the political power of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions in Yathrib was to regain its strength.

Resumption of Fighting on the Morrow

On the morrow, which fell on Sunday the 16th of Shawwāl, the ***mu'adhin*** of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) called upon the Muslims to regroup and pursue the enemy. Only those who had participated in the previous day's battle were, however, allowed to proceed. When the Muslims set out toward the Makkan force, Abū Sufyān immediately learned that his enemies had returned from Madinah with new reinforcements. Muhammadm (P.B.U.H) reached Hamrā' al Asad while Abū Sufyān and his companions were still at al Rawhā'. Since he passed by both

camps, Ma'bad al Khuzā'i, who was still an associationist, was asked by Abu Sufyan about Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his forces. He replied that "Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions are coming after you with such a large army that I have never seen the like of it. Those who were not present yesterday are all with him today shouting with anger and seeking revenge." Abū Sufyān, on the other hand, though he wanted to run away from any more confrontations with Muhammad (P.B.U.H), pondered the consequences of such a flight. Would not the Arabs say of Quraysh in such an eventuality what he himself would have liked to say of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions? But then, were he to return to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and the Muslims defeat them this time, would not the Quraysh be destroyed once and for all?

He therefore made recourse to a trick. With some riders of 'Abd al Qays proceeding to Madinah, he sent a message to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) that the Quraysh had decided to pursue the Muslims in order to finish them off. When this message reached Muhammad (P.B.U.H) at Hamrā' al Asad, his will and determination remained constant and his decision unchanged. The whole Muslim force, which remained in place for three days and three nights, made large bonfires during the night in order to show the world that they were there to stay. Finally, disagreeing with Abū Sufyān, the Quraysh preferred to save the memory of their victory of Uhud and to return to Makkah. Thereafter, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) returned to Madinah with more confidence in Muslim power, though the insincere believers began to raise their heads in derision of the Muslims and asked:

"If the battle of Badr was a sign from Allah proving the veracity of Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) prophethood, what was the sign of the battle of Uhud?"

16

The Effects of Uhud

Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) Policy after Uhud

After Uhud, Abū Sufyān returned to Makkah preceded by the news of his victory. He arrived home exalted and overjoyed for having removed from Quraysh the stain of defeat at Badr. As soon as he entered the city and before setting foot in his residence, he went to the Ka'bah where he offered thanksgiving and prayers to its high god Hubal. He then shaved his sideburns and returned to his residence feeling that the vow he had made not to touch his wife until he had defeated Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had now been fulfilled. The Muslims, on the other hand, despite the fact that they spent three whole days in the open, challenging their enemy to return and engage them without avail, were derided by the Madinese. Nobody mentioned the Muslim victory in the first round of battle. Evidently, Madinah was simply not favorable to the Muslims, Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) great political power notwithstanding. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) felt this hostility strongly, not only from Madinah but also from all the surrounding Arab tribes who only a few days earlier feared and respected Muslim power. The Battle of Uhud had enabled the non-Muslim elements of Madinah and its surroundings to dare to stand in the face of Muhammad

(P.B.U.H) and even to oppose him. Hence Muhammad (P.B.U.H) took especial care to keep himself abreast of developments within and without the city, and he prepared himself for recapturing and reestablishing Muslim power and reputation.

The Campaign of Abū Salamah ibn 'Abd al Asad

The first news of enemy movement that came to Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) ear told that Tulayhah and Salamah, Sons of Khuwaylid and leaders of Banū Asad, were inciting their tribesmen and clients to attack Madinah and to seek Muhammad (P.B.U.H) in his own house. They were also inciting them to raid the city outskirts to seize the cattle of the Muslims. Apparently, they were emboldened by the consideration that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions were still shaken by defeat and that their power was on the decline. As soon as the Prophet (P.B.U.H) heard of this, however, he sent forth Abū Salamah ibn 'Abd al Asad at the head of an expeditionary force of one hundred and fifty fighters including Abū 'Ubaydah ibn al Jarrāh, Sa'd ibn Abu Waqqas, and Usayd ibn Hudayr. He ordered the force to march by night along untrodden paths, to lie still by day, and to surprise the enemy wherever possible. Abu Salamah followed the instructions of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and found his enemy unprepared. Shortly before dawn, he talked to his men, inspiring them to holy war, and they attacked. The enemy ran away in defeat. The Muslims pursued them and returned after having stripped them of all their possessions. They divided the booty among themselves after saving one fifth of it for Allah, His Prophet (P.B.U.H), the poor, and the wayfarer; then they returned to Madinah victorious. Their accomplishment restored some of the Muslim prestige which had been lost at Uhud. Abu Salamah, however, did not live long after this raid, for his wound at Uhud had not been completely cured. His participation in this

raid, during which he reopened the wound, finally brought about his death.

The Campaign of 'Abdullah ibn Unays

Later Muhammad (P.B.U.H) learned that Khālid ibn Sufyān ibn Nubayh al Hudhali was either at Nakhlah or 'Uranah arousing the people and inciting them to raid Madianh. He commanded Abdullah ibn Unays to travel to Madinah in order to reconnoiter for him. After going forth, 'Abdullah found Khalid in the company of women. When asked by Khālid about his identity, 'Abdullah answered, "I am an Arab tribesman who has heard of you and of the army you are raising to fight Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and I have come to you to join your ranks." Khālid did not hide the fact that he was actually raising an army in order to attack Madinah. In a moment of separation from his men, and in the company of his women, 'Abdullah asked Khālid to walk with him a little while in order to discuss certain affairs. When they were at a safe distance, he fell on him with his sword and killed him. Khālid's women were the only witnesses and they began to cry and mourn for him. 'Abdullah returned home and informed the Prophet (P.B.U.H) of his exploits. This singlehanded campaign had the effect of silencing the Banu Lihyan branch of the Hudhayl tribe for some time. But the Banū Lihyan began to think of ways and means to avenge the murder of their leader.

The Battle of al Raji' (625 C.E.)

About this time, a group of tribesmen living in the district of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) came to him saying, "There are some Muslims among us. Please send with us some of your

companions to teach us the law of Islam and to recite the Qur'ān." Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was in the habit of sending his companions upon request to such areas and tribes in order to perform such religious functions and to call men to the true faith and guidance as well as to find new political allies. It will be recalled that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) sent such companions to Madinah after the great covenant of 'Aqabah. In fulfillment of this new request, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) sent six of his notable companions. When they were all camping at a well belonging to the tribe of Hudhayl in the Hijāz at a place called al Raji', their host betrayed them to the Hudhayl tribe. The six Muslims arose to find that they were surrounded by enemies with drawn swords. They drew their swords too and prepared for battle. But the Hudhayl tribesmen said, "It is not our intention to kill you but to sell you as captives to the people of Makkah. Lay down your swords and we solemnly promise that we shall not kill you." The Muslims looked to one another and decided that a humiliating captivity in Makkah was far worse than loss of life. Rejecting the promise of Hudhayl, they began to fight knowing that they were outnumbered. Hudhayl killed three of them and overpowered the other three. They tied their hands and drove them toward Makkah. 'Abdullah ibn Tālib managed to pull his hands free and seized his sword to fight his captors. But they overwhelmed and killed him. The other two captives were brought to Makkah and sold by the Hudhayl. Zayd ibn al Dathinah was purchased by Safwān ibn Umayyah in order to be killed in revenge for his father, Umayyah ibn Khalaf. The captive was given over to Safwān's servant Nastās for execution. Abū Sufyan questioned the captive: "Tell me, 0 Zayd, would you not prefer that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) were here in your place to receive this last punishment while you were at home with your people?" Zayd answered, "No! By Allah, I certainly prefer that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) be where he is, safe from all harm. That is more preferable to me than reunion with my people."

Stupefied, Abū Sufyan rejoined, "Never have I seen anyone more beloved by his companions than Muhammad (P.B.U.H)." Nastas executed the order of his master and killed Zayd, the man who remained true to his religion and Prophet (P.B.U.H). As for Khubayb, he was kept in jail until such time as they would crucify him. In his last hour, he asked to be allowed to pray, and they let him. After completion of his prayer, he exclaimed:

"By Allah, were I not afraid that you might think I was not ready to die, I would have prolonged my prayer." They lifted him to the cross and tied him to it. With great passion, he prayed to Allah:

"O Allah, reduce their numbers, rout, and disperse them, do not let any one of them escape." There was such a ring in his voice that his executioners were seized with panic and fell to the ground as if his curse had really struck them. Like Zayd before him, Khubayb died a martyr, true to his Creator, and loyal to His religion and Prophet (P.B.U.H). It would have been possible for these two pure souls to save themselves from death if they had apostatized. But their conviction of Allah, of His Spirit, of the Day of Judgment—the Day on which every soul will receive its due, and no vicarious substitutes will be allowed—caused them to see death as a fitting finale for the life of faith. Undoubtedly, they must have believed that their innocent lives now being laid down on Makkan soil would one day arouse their Muslim brethren to conquer that city, destroy its idols, and purify it from paganism and associationism. They were certain that someday the Ka'bah should rightly be sanctified as the House of Allah ought to be and that someday its walls would reverberate with none but the name of Allah alone.

The western Orientalists do not note this event as they do the execution of the two captives of Badr by the Muslims. None of them has even condemned this treacherous execution of two innocent Muslims who participated in no war but who were dragged stealthily into the enemy camp while they were teaching

the very men who were planning their murder or sale to their enemies. None of them had thought to condemn the Quraysh despite the fact that its behavior in this case was nothing short of cowardice and cold-blooded murder. The rules of the most primitive justice would have required of those western Orientalists who condemned the Muslims' execution of the two Badr captives that they condemn, a ***fortiori,*** this treason of Quraysh and of the men who sold her the two captives after killing their four colleagues. Neither did Quraysh capture them in an honest fight. It bought them from people who tricked them into their camp by inviting them to be the teachers of truth, to instruct, and to enlighten them in matters of the faith.

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and the Muslim community were saddened by the news of the martyrdom of their six colleagues as a result of the treachery of Hudhayl. Hassān ibn Thābit, the Muslim poet, composed a poem in their memory in which Khubayb and Zayd were objects of the warmest compassion and mourning. The event gave Muhammad (P.B.U.H) reason to ponder and to fear deterioration of Muslim prestige in case such events were to recur. Nothing, of course, is more harmful to one's prestige than to be slighted by the larger community. As he was engaged in these thoughts, he was approached by Abu Barā' 'Amir ibn Malik, to whom Muhammad (P.B.U.H) offered the faith of Islam. Abū Barā' turned down the offer of Muhammad, (P.B.U.H) but he did not show any enmity to the new faith. On the contrary, he asked Muhammad (P.B.U.H) to send some of his companions to the people of Najd in order to preach Islam to them. "Perhaps," he said, "they may respond favorably and enter the faith." Muhammad (P.B.U.H) feared that any such companions whom he might send to Najd might be subject to treacherous attack as had befallen Khubayb and his companions on the part of the Hudhayl tribe. Unmoved, he therefore rejected Abū Barā's request. Abū Barā' said, "I shall be their guardian and protector. Send them over, therefore, and let them preach the

faith." Abū Bara' was a notable with large influence among his people. No one had reason to fear when Abu Barā' had extended his personal protection to him. With this consideration, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) sent al Mundhir ibn 'Amr, brother of Banū Sā'idah, together with other men chosen from the foremost Muslim ranks.

The Rattle of Bi'r Ma'ūnah

Delegates and escorts proceeded together until they reached the well of Ma'unah, at the frontier between Banu 'Amir and Banū Sulaym. From there, they sent Haram ibn Milhan to 'Amir ibn al Tufayl with Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) message. 'Amir, not even bothering to read Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) letter, killed its carrier forthwith. He then called on the tribesmen of Banu 'Amir to kill all the Muslims. When his tribesmen refused to violate the protection already extended by Abū Barā', 'Amir summoned other tribes to do the job. A number of these responded to his call, gave fight to the Muslims, surrounded them completely, and killed them. Not one Muslim survived this battle except Ka'b ibn Zayd and 'Amr ibn Umayyah. The former was left wounded in the field on the assumption that he was dead, and the latter was set free by 'Amir ibn al Tufayl as atonement for a vow involving a man's life which his mother owed. On his way home, 'Amir met two men on the road whom he mistook as part of the enemy hosts which killed his companions. He waited until they had gone to sleep and then sprang upon them and killed them. When he reached Madinah, he gave the Prophet (P.B.U.H) a full report of what he did and what had happened. It then turned out that the two men whom he killed were clients of 'Amir and ***protégés*** of Abu Barā', with whom the Prophet (P.B.U.H) had entered into a covenant of good neighborliness. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) therefore commanded him to pay their bloodwits.

The fall of the Muslim martyrs at the well of Ma'unah deeply grieved Muhammad (P.B.U.H). He blamed Abu Barā' for this loss since he was the author of the request which Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had satisfied, but only with apprehension and after much hesitation. Abū Barā' for his part, was extremely wrathful against 'Amir ibn al Tufayl for violating his protective covenant with the Muslims; and sent his own son, al Raji', to kill 'Amir in vengeance for the violated honor. Mourning his colleagues for one whole month, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) asked Allah fervently at every Morning Prayer to enable him to avenge their death. All the Muslims were deeply affected by this tragedy that had befallen their brethren in religion, though they believed that the martyrs were all in Paradise.

The Jews and Munafiqun of Madinah

The Jews and the ***munafiqun*** of Madinah found in the tragedies of Al Raji' and Bi'r Ma'unah occasion to remember the victory of Quraysh at Uhud and to forget the Muslim victory over Banū Asad. In consequence, the prestige of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and his companions declined, and grave concern was directed to the Muslims' political fortune. With proper foresight, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) realized that this deterioration of Muslim prestige in Madinah had exposed the whole cause to the greatest danger. Nothing would so inspire the tribes to dig their claws into Madinah as the suspicion that an attack upon the Muslims would immediately bring about civil war within their city. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) also observed that both the Jews and the ***munafiqūn*** were plotting against him. He therefore decided to force them into betraying their intentions. As the Jews of Banu al Nadir were the allies of Banū 'Amir, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) went to them near Quba', together with ten of his prominent

companions—including Abu Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Ali— and asked them to cooperate in furnishing the bloodwit money for the two victims whom 'Amir' ibn Umayyah had killed by mistake, not knowing of their convenant with the Muslims.

Jewish Plots against Muhammad (P.B.U.H)

When Muhammad (P.B.U.H) submitted his request to them, they pretended acquiescence to his demand. But it was also noticeable that while some of them were showing signs of reconciliation, others were plotting at a safe distance. They whispered to one another in presence of the Muslims, and the Prophet (P.B.U.H) overheard them mentioning the murder by the Muslims of Ka'b ibn al Ashraf. When one of them, 'Amr ibn Jahash ibn Ka'b, entered the house on whose wall Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was leaning, in a suspicious and stealthy manner, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) could no more contain his doubts which their talk and hush-hush conversation made gradually more certain. He rose and withdrew from their midst, leaving behind his companions and giving the impression that he was soon to return. The Jews knew that he was leaving for good and addressed his companions incoherently and hesitantly. They realized that if they were to kill his men, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) would surely take a bitter revenge. But if they let them go, the Jewish plot against Muhammad (P.B.U.H) would not be betrayed, and at any rate they could count on the Muslims to continue to honor their part of the covenant. They therefore tried to convince their Muslim guests of their good intentions and to counteract any suspicions that their guests may have entertained. Soon, the companions began to complain that the Prophet (P.B.U.H) had not returned and that they had better leave and look for him. They met a man on the way who assured them that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had safely returned to the mosque. When

they joined him, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) told them of his suspicions and of the Jewish plot to kill him. They then realized the meaning of Jewish behavior and understood their moves at the recent interview. They became convinced of the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) penetrating insight, which seemed all the more convincing when joined to the evidence of their own observations.

Warninq to Banu al Nadir

Commanding Muhammad (P.B.U.H) ibn Maslamah, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) said: "Go to the Jews of Banu al Nadir and tell them that I have sent you to them with the command that they should leave this country. Tell them that by plotting to kill me, they have violated the covenant which I gave them. Tell them also that I give them ten days to evacuate after which any Jew seen in this area will be killed." When they heard of this command, Banū al Nadir lost hope. In vain they looked for means to change the verdict. Seeking to sway the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) messenger to their own side, they said: "O Muhammad ibn Maslamah, we did not expect that such command be conveyed by an old ally of ours like you, a man from al Aws tribe which is our ally against the Khazraj." Ibn Maslamah replied, "The times have changed and so have the affiliations."

Instigation to Defy the Prophet (P.B.U.H)

The Jews spent a number of days preparing for war. In the meantime, 'Abdullah ibn Ubayy sent to them two messengers with the message that they should not depart from their land and property, that they should remain in their fortresses, and that soon he himself would be coming to their assistance with two

thousand Jewish and Arab fighters prepared to defend them to the death. Banu al Nadir pondered over the message of Ibn Ubayy and wondered how he could have felt so certain of victory. They recalled that the same man had previously promised help to Banū Qaynuqa‘, just as he was doing today, but betrayed them when his help was needed by running for his life. They considered that since Banū Qurayzah had contracted a peace with Muhammad (P.B.U.H), they would not be prepared to come to their rescue. Hence, they inclined toward removing themselves to Khaybar or a nearer place, considering that they could still come to Yathrib to harvest their crops and return to their fortresses at Khaybar with no appreciable loss. Huyayy ibn Akhtab, their leader, finally resolved against this view. “No,” he said “I shall send to Muhammad telling him that we shall not leave our homes and properties and that we refuse to comply with his orders. As for us, all we have to do is to consolidate our fortresses, to fill up our granaries, to barricade our streets, to supply ourselves with stones, and to get ready. We have enough food reserves to keep us for a full year and our water supply never runs dry. At any rate, Muhammad will not blockade us for as long a time as a year.” The ten days therefore passed and no Jew left Madinah.

Blockade of Banū al Nadir

The Muslims took up arms and began to fight the Jews. For twenty days and nights the battle raged. Whenever a Jew showed up on the public street or outside of his quarters, the Muslims would engage him in battle. But the Jews would withdraw quickly and often would even destroy their own property or houses before withdrawal to deeper lines. Subsequently, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) ordered his companions to cut down the date trees and to burn them in order to reduce the Jews’ will to

stay in Madinah to protect and enjoy their properties. The Jews were angry and argued, "O Muhammad, how could you, who always forbade corruption and injustice and castigated their perpetrators, command the destruction of our date orchards?" On this occasion the following verse was revealed:

﴿ مَا قَطَعْتُم مِّن لِّينَةٍ أَوْ تَرَكْتُمُوهَا قَائِمَةً عَلَىٰٓ أُصُولِهَا فَبِإِذْنِ ٱللَّهِ وَلِيُخْزِيَ ٱلْفَٰسِقِينَ ۝ ﴾ سورة الحشر آية ٥

Whether ye cut down (O you Muslims!) of the tender palm-trees, or you left them standing on their roots, it was by leave of Allah, and in order that He might cover with shame the rebellious transgressors. (Al- Hashr:5)

The Jews waited in vain for military assistance to come from the side of ibn Ubayy or from that of some other Arab tribes, and they dreaded the fate which awaited them in case they prolonged the hostilities. In despair and with hearts trembling with fear, they asked Muhammad (P.B.U.H) to guarantee their lives and properties and to give them safe passage. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) agreed, permitting each one to take with him three camel loads of whatever property of goods they wanted to take away. Huyayy ibn Akhtab, their leader, led this exodus; the emigrants settled either at Khayhar or at Adhri'at in al Sham. They left behind them large amounts of booty consisting of food, fifty pieces of armour, three hundred and forty swords, and large areas of land. This prize was greater than anything the Muslims had so far seized. These properties were not divided among the Muslims as war booty. They were all considered as a trust which the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) divided among the early emigrants, after putting away some for the purposes of the poor

and deprived. Thus the necessary economic support of the Muhājirūn by al Ansar was alleviated for the first time, the Muhājirun having now acquired as much wealth as their hosts. None of the Ansār received any of this new wealth except Abū Dujānah and Sahl ibn Hunayf. When they pleaded to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) that they were really in need, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) gave them as liberally as the Muhajirun. All the Jews of Banū al Nadir left Madinah except two who converted to Islam and kept their property.

It is by no means easy to appreciate the true significance of the Muslim victory and of the forced evacuation of Banū al Nadir from Madinah. The Prophet's (P.B.U.H) apprehension of what their presence in Madinah might lead to by way of civil strife, of emboldening the ***munāfiqun*** to plot against the Muslims whenever the latter suffered a set-back, and of the actual threat of civil war in case of outside attack—all these weighed heavily in the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) consideration. On the occasion of the evacuation of Banū al Nadir, the whole ***Surah*** of "al Hashr" was revealed. In it Allah said:

﴿ ۞ أَلَمْ تَرَ إِلَى ٱلَّذِينَ نَافَقُوا۟ يَقُولُونَ لِإِخْوَٰنِهِمُ ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا۟
مِنْ أَهْلِ ٱلْكِتَٰبِ لَئِنْ أُخْرِجْتُمْ لَنَخْرُجَنَّ مَعَكُمْ وَلَا نُطِيعُ فِيكُمْ
أَحَدًا أَبَدًا وَإِن قُوتِلْتُمْ لَنَنصُرَنَّكُمْ وَٱللَّهُ يَشْهَدُ إِنَّهُمْ لَكَٰذِبُونَ ﴿١١﴾ لَئِنْ
أُخْرِجُوا۟ لَا يَخْرُجُونَ مَعَهُمْ وَلَئِن قُوتِلُوا۟ لَا يَنصُرُونَهُمْ وَلَئِن نَّصَرُوهُمْ
لَيُوَلُّنَّ ٱلْأَدْبَٰرَ ثُمَّ لَا يُنصَرُونَ ﴿١٢﴾ ﴾ ﴿ لَأَنتُمْ أَشَدُّ رَهْبَةً فِى
صُدُورِهِم مِّنَ ٱللَّهِ ۚ ذَٰلِكَ بِأَنَّهُمْ قَوْمٌ لَّا يَفْقَهُونَ ﴿١٣﴾ ﴾

سورة الحشر الآيات ١١ - ١٣

(Have you not observed the Hypocrites say to their misbelieving brethren among the People of the Book? "If you are expelled, we too will go out with you, and we will never hearken to any one in your affair; and if you are attacked (in fight) we will help you." But Allah is witness that they are indeed liars. If they are expelled, never will they go out with them; and if they are attacked (in fight), they will never help them; and if they do help them, they will turn their backs; so they will receive no help. Of a truth you arouse greater fear in their hearts, than Allah. This is because they are men devoid of understanding.)

(Al- Hashr:11-13)

The ***Sūrah*** continues with a discussion of faith and its power over the human soul and asserts that only recognition of Allah gives the human soul value and dignity such as no other recognition of any power can give. The Qur'ān said:

﴿ هُوَ ٱللَّهُ ٱلَّذِى لَآ إِلَٰهَ إِلَّا هُوَ ۖ عَٰلِمُ ٱلْغَيْبِ وَٱلشَّهَٰدَةِ ۖ هُوَ ٱلرَّحْمَٰنُ ٱلرَّحِيمُ ﴿٢٢﴾ هُوَ ٱللَّهُ ٱلَّذِى لَآ إِلَٰهَ إِلَّا هُوَ ٱلْمَلِكُ ٱلْقُدُّوسُ ٱلسَّلَٰمُ ٱلْمُؤْمِنُ ٱلْمُهَيْمِنُ ٱلْعَزِيزُ ٱلْجَبَّارُ ٱلْمُتَكَبِّرُ ۚ سُبْحَٰنَ ٱللَّهِ عَمَّا يُشْرِكُونَ ﴿٢٣﴾ هُوَ ٱللَّهُ ٱلْخَٰلِقُ ٱلْبَارِئُ ٱلْمُصَوِّرُ ۖ لَهُ ٱلْأَسْمَآءُ ٱلْحُسْنَىٰ ۚ يُسَبِّحُ لَهُۥ مَا فِى ٱلسَّمَٰوَٰتِ وَٱلْأَرْضِ ۖ وَهُوَ ٱلْعَزِيزُ ٱلْحَكِيمُ ﴿٢٤﴾ ﴾

سورة الحشر الآيات ٢٢- ٢٤

(Allah is He, than Whom there is no other god; Who knows (all things) both secret and open; He is the Most

Gracious, Most Merciful. He is Allah there is no other god than Him; the Sovereign, the Holy One, the Source of Peace (and Perfection), the Guardian of Faith, the Preserver of Safety, the Exalted in Might, the Irresistible, the Justly Proud, Glory to Allah! (High is He) above the partners they attribute to Him. He is Allah, the Creator, the Originator, the Fashioner to Him belong the Most Beautiful Names: whatever is in the heavens and on earth, doth declare His Praises and Glory; and He is the Exalted in Might, the Wise.) (Al- Hashr: 22-24)

The Prophet's (P.B.U.H) Secretary

Until the exit of Banu al Nadir from Madinah, the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) secretary was a Jew. He had chosen him for his capacity to write letters in Hebrew and Syriac, as well as Arabic. After the evacuation of the Jews from Madinah, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) no longer trusted a non-Muslim to write his letters. He therefore commanded Zayd ibn Thābit, a Madinese youth, to learn the two languages and appointed him his secretary for all affairs. The same Zayd ibn Thabit collected the Qur'ān during the caliphate of Abū Bakr, supervised the collection of the Qur'ān when the readings of it varied during the caliphate of 'Uthmān, and finally established the text known as "the recension of 'Uthmān," after which all other texts were destroyed.

The city of Madinah recovered its peace after the evacuation of Banū al Nadir. The Muslims no more feared the ***munafiqun*** and the Muhajirun were quite satisfied with the new lands they had acquired. On the other hand, al Ansār were equally happy that there was no further need to support the Muhājirūn. The period was generally one of peace and tranquillity as well as prosperity for both Muhājirūn and Ansar.

This continued until the following year when, on the occasion of the memory of Uhud, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) remembered the promise of Abu Sufyan to fight the Muslims again a year thence to the day. Muhammad (P.B.U. H) also recalled that Abū Sufyan had challenged to meet him once more at Badr, on the Day of Badr, a year later. The year was one of drought and Abū Sufyan wished to postpone the encounter for another year. Nonetheless, he sent Nu'aym to Madinah to inform the Muslims that Quraysh had rallied a tremendous army such as the Arabs had never seen before, that Makkah was planning to fight them and destroy them once and for all and inflict upon them unheard of misery and destruction. The Muslims first reacted with apprehension and fear and were more eager to remain in Madinah than go out to meet their enemy at Badr. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was indignant. He castigated their cowardice and warned them that he was going to Badr even if he had to do so alone.

The Would-be Encounter at Badr

After this show of anger on the part of the Prophet (P.B.U.H), it was not surprising that all hesitation and all fear on the part of the Muslims dissolved and that they picked up their arms in order to run to Badr. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) appointed 'Abdullah ibn 'Abdullah ibn Ubayy ibn Salul to govern Madinah in his absence. The Muslims arrived at Badr and waited there for the Quraysh army to come forth. Quraysh, on the other hand, sent two thousand fighters under the leadership of Abu Sufyan. Abu Sufyan, however, was not enthusiastic about the whole affair, and he decided to return to Makkah two days after he left. He advised his people that since they could not do well in war outside of Makkah except in a fertile and prosperous year, and since that year was one of drought and poverty, it was better for them to return home and not to fight Muhammad (P.B.U.H). He

returned to Makkah and the army returned with him while Muhammad (P.B.U.H) awaited them eight long days in their encampment at Badr. While waiting for their enemy to appear, the Muslims began a little trade and they made large gains for which they thanked Allah. It was on the occasion of this would-be encounter that the following Qur'ānic verses were revealed:

﴿ ٱلَّذِينَ قَالُوا۟ لِإِخْوَٰنِهِمْ وَقَعَدُوا۟ لَوْ أَطَاعُونَا مَا قُتِلُوا۟ ۗ قُلْ فَٱدْرَءُوا۟
عَنْ أَنفُسِكُمُ ٱلْمَوْتَ إِن كُنتُمْ صَٰدِقِينَ ﴿١٦٨﴾ وَلَا تَحْسَبَنَّ ٱلَّذِينَ قُتِلُوا۟
فِى سَبِيلِ ٱللَّهِ أَمْوَٰتًۢا ۚ بَلْ أَحْيَآءٌ عِندَ رَبِّهِمْ يُرْزَقُونَ ﴿١٦٩﴾ فَرِحِينَ بِمَآ
ءَاتَىٰهُمُ ٱللَّهُ مِن فَضْلِهِۦ وَيَسْتَبْشِرُونَ بِٱلَّذِينَ لَمْ يَلْحَقُوا۟ بِهِم مِّنْ خَلْفِهِمْ
أَلَّا خَوْفٌ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا هُمْ يَحْزَنُونَ ﴿١٧٠﴾ ۞ يَسْتَبْشِرُونَ بِنِعْمَةٍ مِّنَ
ٱللَّهِ وَفَضْلٍ وَأَنَّ ٱللَّهَ لَا يُضِيعُ أَجْرَ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ ﴿١٧١﴾ ٱلَّذِينَ ٱسْتَجَابُوا۟ لِلَّهِ
وَٱلرَّسُولِ مِنۢ بَعْدِ مَآ أَصَابَهُمُ ٱلْقَرْحُ ۚ لِلَّذِينَ أَحْسَنُوا۟ مِنْهُمْ وَٱتَّقَوْا۟
أَجْرٌ عَظِيمٌ ﴿١٧٢﴾ ٱلَّذِينَ قَالَ لَهُمُ ٱلنَّاسُ إِنَّ ٱلنَّاسَ قَدْ جَمَعُوا۟ لَكُمْ
فَٱخْشَوْهُمْ فَزَادَهُمْ إِيمَٰنًا وَقَالُوا۟ حَسْبُنَا ٱللَّهُ وَنِعْمَ ٱلْوَكِيلُ ﴿١٧٣﴾
فَٱنقَلَبُوا۟ بِنِعْمَةٍ مِّنَ ٱللَّهِ وَفَضْلٍ لَّمْ يَمْسَسْهُمْ سُوٓءٌ وَٱتَّبَعُوا۟ رِضْوَٰنَ ٱللَّهِ
ۗ وَٱللَّهُ ذُو فَضْلٍ عَظِيمٍ ﴿١٧٤﴾ إِنَّمَا ذَٰلِكُمُ ٱلشَّيْطَٰنُ يُخَوِّفُ أَوْلِيَآءَهُۥ فَلَا
تَخَافُوهُمْ وَخَافُونِ إِن كُنتُم مُّؤْمِنِينَ ﴿١٧٥﴾ ﴾

سورة آل عمران الآيات ١٦٨- ١٧٥

(They are) the ones that say, (of their brethren slain), while they themselves sit (at ease): "If only they had listened to us, they would not have been slain." Say: "Avert death from your own selves, if you speak the truth." Think not of those who are slain in Allah's Way as dead. Nay, they live, finding their sustenance from their Lord;

They rejoice in the Bounty provided by Allah: and with regard to those left behind, who have not yet joined them (in their bliss), the (Martyrs) glory in the fact that on them is no fear, nor have they (cause to) grieve. They rejoice in the Grace and the Bounty from Allah, and in the fact that Allah suffers not the reward of the Faithful to be lost (in the least). Of those who answered the call of Allah and the Messenger, even after being wounded, those who do right and refrain from wrong have a great reward. Those to whom men said: "A great army is gathering against you, so fear them": but it (only) increased their Faith; they said: "For us Allah suffices, and He is the best Guardian."

And they returned with Grace and Bounty from Allah; no harm ever touched them: for they followed the good pleasure of Allah: and Allah is the Lord of bounties unbounded. It is only the Satan that suggests to you the fear of his votaries: be not afraid of them, but fear Me, if you have Faith. (Al-Imran :168- 175)

This would-be encounter at Badr erased completely every trace of Uhud. Quraysh had no alternative but to wait another whole year, enduring in the meantime opprobrium no less great than that of her first defeat at Badr.

Campaign of Dhāt al Riqa'

Fully satisfied with the implicit victory Allah had sent to

him, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) returned to Madinah. He was content that the Muslims recaptured their prestige, but he kept constant vigilance lest the enemy should cheat him once more. In the meantime, the news reached him that a group from Ghatafān in Najd were rallying an army to fight him. He planned to surprise them before they could complete their preparations. Gathering a force of four hundred, he led his men to Dhāt al Riqa' where the Banū Muhārib and Banū Tha'labah of Ghatafan had rallied. The Muslims took the initiative of surprise attack, and the enemy ran away leaving behind their women, equipment, and property. Of these the Muslims carried what they could and returned to Madinah. Taking care lest the enemy launch a surprise attack against them in turn, the Muslims established night and day sentries, and Muhammad (P.B.U.H) would only allow short prayers to be held. While some of them prayed, the others would face the enemy fully prepared for defense. The enemy, however, never showed his face; and the Prophet (P.B.U.H) returned to Madinah fifteen days after they had left it, jubilant and victorious.

Campaign of Dawmat al Jandal

A little later, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) led another campaign to Dawmat al Jandal. This is an oasis on the frontier between al Hijaz and al Sham, midway between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. There again, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) could not find the tribes whom he had come to punish for their attack upon the caravans. For as soon as any heard that he was on his way, they would run, unmindful of what the Muslims might carry away of their property as booty. The geographic location of Dawmat al Jandal shows the ample extent of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions' political influence and military sway. In fact, the Arabian Peninsula shook under their feet. The foregoing

accounts give equally clear evidence of Muslim endurance, of their disregard for excessive heat, for the desolateness of the countryside and shortage of water. These reports testify to the Muslims' readiness to lay down their lives for the cause of Allah and to the determination of their faith in Him as One.

After all these exploits and campaigns, it was time for Muhammad (P.B.U.H) to settle down in Madinah for a few months before Quraysh would trouble him again in fulfilment of Abū Sufyan's resolution to make annual battle with the Muslims. In the meantime, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) had plenty to do to complete the organization of the nascent Islamic society and to order and structure its various elements on the basis of Revelation, ***i.e.,*** of what may be safely deduced from revealed truths. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) elaborated a complete system of rules for the guidance of man, state and society, which his companions canonized after his death and which still stands viable for all ages.

17
The Prophet's Wives (P.B.U.H)

The Zaynab Affair and the Orientalists

In the interval in which the events of the last two chapters took place, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) married Zaynab, daughter of Khuzaymah, Umm Salamah daughter of Umayyah ibn al Mughirah, and Zaynab, daughter of Jahsh, after she had been divorced by Zayd ibn Hārithah. The last named is the same Zayd who was adopted by Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and set free after he was bought by Yasār for Khadijah. It is here that the Orientalists offer their highest condemnation, in chorus with the Christian missionaries. Glowing with vindictiveness, they say," Muhammad (P.B.U.H) who in Makkah called men to asceticism and contentment, to monotheism and abstinence from the pleasures of this life, has now become a man of lust whose appetite every woman could whet. He is not satisfied with three women whom he has so far taken into marriage but has now taken the three additional wives just mentioned. Indeed, he was to marry three more yet in addition to Rayhanah. Nor was he to be satisfied by marrying the widow. He fell in love with Zaynab, daughter of Jahsh, while she was the wife of Zayd ibn Hārithah, his own client. Once, when he passed by the house of Zayd in the latter's absence, he was met by Zaynab wearing clothes

which exposed her beauty. Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) heart was inflamed. It is reported that when his eyes fell upon her, he exclaimed, 'Praise be to Allah who changes the hearts of men!' and that he repeated this expression at the time of his departure from her home. Zaynab heard him say this and noticed desire in his eye. Proudly, she reported what happened to her husband. Zayd immediately went to see the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and offered to divorce his wife. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) answered, 'Hold to your wife and fear Allah.' Thereafter, Zaynab was no longer a docile wife and Zayd had to divorce her. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) did not marry her immediately despite his love for her. He waited until an express Revelation came which permitted him to do so. Addressing Muhammad (P.B.U.H), Allah said : 'You said to Zayd, to whom Allah gave of His bounty and you gave of yours,

﴿ وَإِذْ تَقُولُ لِلَّذِىٓ أَنْعَمَ ٱللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَأَنْعَمْتَ عَلَيْهِ أَمْسِكْ عَلَيْكَ
زَوْجَكَ وَٱتَّقِ ٱللَّهَ وَتُخْفِى فِى نَفْسِكَ مَا ٱللَّهُ مُبْدِيهِ وَتَخْشَى ٱلنَّاسَ وَٱللَّهُ
أَحَقُّ أَن تَخْشَىٰهُ ۖ فَلَمَّا قَضَىٰ زَيْدٌ مِّنْهَا وَطَرًا زَوَّجْنَٰكَهَا لِكَىْ لَا يَكُونَ
عَلَى ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ حَرَجٌ فِىٓ أَزْوَٰجِ أَدْعِيَآئِهِمْ إِذَا قَضَوْا۟ مِنْهُنَّ وَطَرًا ۚ
وَكَانَ أَمْرُ ٱللَّهِ مَفْعُولًا ﴿٣٧﴾ ﴾ سورة الأحزاب آية ٣٧

(Behold! you did say to one who had received the grace of Allah and Your favour: "Retain (in wedlock) your wife, and fear Allah." But you did hide in your heart that which Allah was about to make manifest: you did fear the people, but it is more fitting that you should fear Allah. Then when Zaid had dissolved (his marriage) with her, We

joined her in marriage to you, in order that (in future) there may be no difficulty to the Believers in (the matter of) marriage with the wives of their adopted sons, when the latter have dissolved (their marriage) with them. And Allah's command must be fulfilled.) (Al Ahzab :37)

Thereupon, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) married this woman and satisfied his desire and lust. Now, what kind of Prophet is this? How could he permit himself that which he forbade to others? How can he violate the law which he himself had said had come to him from heaven? How would he amass this harem which calls to mind the behavior of the old lustful and pleasure seeking kings rather than the righteous reforming prophets? How could such a prophet fall prey to lust and desire in the case of Zaynab that he would force his adopted son to divorce her only so that he might marry her thereafter? That was definitely taboo in pre-Islamic Arabia, and the Prophet (P.B.U.H) of Islam lifted this taboo in order to satisfy his own lust and fulfill his own desire." Thus appears the Western Orientalists' claim.

The Orientalists' Portrait of Zaynab

Western Orientalists and missionaries pause in order to give full vent to their resentment and imagination. In this chapter of Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) biography, some of them take inordinate pain to paint a sensual portrait of Zaynab. They relate that when Muhammad (P.B.U.H) saw her, she was half-naked, that her fine black hair was covering half her body, and that every curve of her body was full of desire and passion. Others relate that when Muhammad (P.B.U.H) opened the door of the house of Zayd the breeze played with the curtains of the room of Zaynab, thus permitting Muhammad (P.B.U.H) to catch a glimpse of her stretched out on her mattress in a nightgown.

They then tell their readers that this view of her stormed the heart of Muhammad (P.B.U.H). who was extremely passionate in his love and desire for women. They relate that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had hidden his secret desire, though he could hardly bear to conceal it for long! This and many like pictures have been painted arduously by Orientalists and missionaries and may be read in the works of Muir, Dermenghem, Washington Irving, Lammens, and others. It cannot be denied that these stories are based upon reports in fanciful Muslim biographies and Hadith books. But these books are questionable. And it is extremely regrettable that our authors have used them without scrutiny. It is inexcusable that these scholars had built "Castles in Spain" regarding Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) relations with women, castles which they thought were sufficiently justified by the fact that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) married a plurality of wives, probably nine, or even more according to some versions.

Great Men and the Law

It is possible to refute all these claims with one argument. If supposed to be true, they constitute no flaw in the prophethood of Muhammad (P.B.U.H), in his own greatness or that of his message. The rules which are law to the people at large do not apply to the great. ***A fortiori,*** they have no application on prophets, the messengers of Allah. Did not Moses—May God's peace be upon him— kill the gentile whom he noticed was fighting with one of his compatriots? That was murder, forbidden by Allah, and there was no war or hostility to justify it. It was a clear violation of the law. Nonetheless, this did not impair Moses' prophethood, his greatness, or his status with Allah. The case of Jesus violates the law even more flagrantly than either Moses or Muhammad (P.B.U.H) or for that matter any other prophet. For his case is not, one of a unique

exemplification of power or desire but a persistent violation of natural law from birth to death. First, the spirit of Allah appeared to Mary, his mother, in the likeness of a handsome man to give her a fair son. Second she herself was surprised and said, "How can I have a son when no man ever touched me and I have never lost my chastity?" The messenger replied that Allah wished her son to be a sign to mankind. Thirdly, when she gave birth to her son she said: "I wish I was dead, given to oblivion, and lost before this." Her son, however, called unto her, "Do not grieve, for Allah has made rivers to issue under your feet." Fourthly, when she brought her son to her people, and they accused her of adultery, Jesus answered them from the cradle: "I am the servant of Allah etc." However the Jews may have denied the facts of this story, and however they may have attributed Jesus' paternity to Joseph, the carpenter— a claim believed today to be true by such rationalists as Renan— the greatness and prophethood of Jesus constitute a miracle, and a miracle is precisely a breech of natural law, the cosmic pattern, and the rules of creation. It is surprising that Christians and missionaries call men to believe such breaches of the cosmic pattern in the case of Jesus and yet blame Muhammad (P.B.U.H) for much less. Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) violation was not one of a cosmic law but one of a social law, which is permissible to every great man. Such status above the social laws of the community is usually accorded to all kings and heads of states. Constitutional law usually grants to such persons immunity which shields them from the pursuing hand of the law.

Incoherence of the Orientalists' Account

It is possible for us to give such an answer and to thereby refute all these Orientalists' claims, the arguments of the missionaries and of those who follow in their tracks. But if we

did so we would be doing a great injustice to history itself as well as to the true greatness of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and the magnanimity of his message. For the fact is that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was not a man given to passion and desire as the Orientalists and missionaries have pictured him. He did not marry his wives for lust, desire, or love. If some Muslim writers in certain periods of history have allowed themselves to attribute such things to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and thereby to present with good intent an argument to the enemies of Islam, that is because their conservatism caused them to adopt a materialistic view of things. In such a manner they pictured Muhammad (P.B.U.H) as superlative in everything including the lusts of this world. But the picture they drew was clearly false. The history of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) denies it outright, and the logic of Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) life is utterly inconsistent with it.

As Husband of Khadijah

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) married Khadijah when he was twenty-three years old, i.e. at the height of his youth, the fullness of manhood, and the apex of power and handsomeness. He remained true and loyal to Khadijah for twenty-eight years until he was over fifty years old. This had been the case at a time when polygamy was normal among the Arabs. Moreover, since no male offspring of Khadijah survived, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had all necessary justification to marry another woman considering that newborn daughters were customarily buried alive and male offspring alone were regarded as rightful heirs. Before Muhammad (P.B.U.H) became a prophet he had lived seventeen years of married life, and thereafter eleven more years without ever thinking of marriage with any other woman. Throughout his married life with Khadijah as well as during his celibate years, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was never known to be

one susceptible to womanly attractions at a time when women wore no veils and showed their beauty and ornaments publicly—the evidence of which is implicit in Islam's prohibition of the same later on. It is unnatural, therefore, now that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had passed the fifty year mark, for him to suffer such a transformation as would make him fall suddenly in love with Zaynab, daughter of Jahsh, while he was already married to five other women, among whom was 'A'ishah whom he loved dearly and constantly. It is therefore unnatural that such a man would have given Zaynab, daughter of Jahsh, any thought at all, and certainly unlikely that she had occupied his thought night and day, as the Orientalists claim. It is certainly unnatural that Muhammad (P.B.U.H), now past fifty years old, would collect in the short span of five years more than seven wives, and two years later to increase the number to nine simply on account of sexual desire. Such a claim, first made by Muslim authors and then uncritically imitated by the Western Orientalists, is absurd. It is inconsistent with the natural predilection of the commonplace, not to speak of the great, whose work has transformed the world, altered the course of history, and still plays a role in retransforming the world and reorienting historical development toward radically new goals. This claim is irrational and does not correspond with the facts. It is contrary to nature to assume that the same man who caused Khadijah to bear all her children before he reached fifty, and caused Mariyah to conceive Ibrahim while he was sixty, could cause none of his numerous wives to bear any children when they were all still young enough and capable of doing so. Nor were they barren, since each of them had borne children before her marriage to Muhammad (P.B.U.H). This fact, true of each of the nine women, would defy explanation if the Orientalist and missionary claim is true. We must add to this consideration the fact that Muhammad (P.B.U.H), a man like other men, was certainly anxious to obtain a male offspring. His prophetic status had

made him father to all Muslims at once from a purely spiritual point of view. But that does not deny the human urge to fatherhood.

Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) Marriage to Sawdah daughter of Zam'ah

History and the logic of its events furnish an unquestionable refutation of the Orientalist and missionary claim regarding the Prophet's wives (P.B.U.H). As we have seen earlier, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) did not share his bed with any other woman besides Khadijah for twenty-eight years. When she finally passed away, he married Sawdah, daughter of Zam'ah, widow of Sakrān ibn 'Amr ibn 'Abd Shams. No one ever described Sawdah as a beautiful woman, and no one has ever reported that she possessed any wealth or social position which might have given a material reason for any one to marry her. Rather, Sawdah was a wife of one of the early converts of Islam who suffered much harm for the sake of the faith and who migrated to Abyssinia following the instructions of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) in order to find a measure of safety. Sawdah had embraced Islam with her husband and migrated with him. She suffered as he did and bore Makkan oppression as patiently as her husband did. If Muhammad (P.B.U.H) married her thereafter in order to provide for her and to raise her position to that of a "Mother of Believers," he certainly did a most worthy and appreciable deed. 'A'ishah and Hafsah were daughters of his two viziers, Abu Bakr and 'Umar, respectively. It was this relation of their fathers to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) which caused the latter to cement his relationship with them by blood. That is why he married their two daughters; that is why he gave in marriage his two daughters to 'Uthmān and 'Ali. If it is true that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) did in fact love 'A'ishah, it must have been a love which arose after marriage, surely neither before nor at the time of marriage. He had asked her hand from her father while she was only nine

years old, and did not marry her until two years later. It is contrary to logic to claim that he could have fallen in love with her while she was at this tender age. Further evidence on this point is the report of 'Umar that Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) marriage to his daughter was not based on love. His report ran as follows: "In preIslamic times, we did not attach any importance to women; but we changed radically after Allah revealed what He did and assigned to them the rights He did. Once, my wife tried to change my mind about something and suggested that I do otherwise. When I asked her to let my business alone, she answered, 'How strange of you,O Son of al Khattāb! You forbid me to criticize you while your daughter is permitted to criticize the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) himself and to do so so well that he would spend the whole day angry.' When I heard this I immediately went to my daughter Hafsah and inquired whether this was true. Hafsah confirmed her mother's report. I was stupefied. I warned her that Allah's punishment as well as the wrath of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) would fall upon her if she persisted. I told her that she should not count either on her beauty or on the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) love for her, for I knew too well that the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) did not love her and that were it not for my sake, he would have even divorced her." There is then ample evidence that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) did not marry either 'A'ishah or Hafsah out of any love or desire but in order to consolidate the ties of mutual brotherhood within the new Islamic community, and especially between himself and his two viziers. There is equally clear evidence that the Prophet (P.B.U.H) married Sawdah in order to teach the Muslim fighters that should they fall martyrs in the cause of Allah, they would not leave their women and children without support but that the community would take care of them.

Another conclusive proof of this sense of social concern is the case of Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) marriages to Zaynab, daughter of Khuzaymah, and Umm Salamah. The former was the

wife of 'Ubaydah ibn al Hārith ibn al Muttalib who fell at the Battle of Badr. Surely she was not beautiful, but she was so kind and gentle that she acquired the nickname of "mother of the destitute." She was past her prime in age and lived only one or two years after her marriage to Muhammad (P.B.U.H). Besides Khadijah she was the only wife of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) who died before him. As for Umm Salamah, she was the wife of Abū Salamah for whom she bore many children. It has already been mentioned that Abū Salamah was wounded at Uhud, that he seemed to be recovering from his wound when the Prophet (P.B.U.H) assigned to him the duty of fighting Banū Asad whom he defeated and whose wealth he seized. It was during the second campaign of Abū Salamah that his wound reopened, and it caused his death a few days later. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) visited him in his last days and remained constantly by his bedside praying for him until he died. Four months after his death, when the Prophet (P.B.U.H) asked the hand of Umm Salamah, she apologized by using the large number of her children and her old age as an excuse. But the Prophet (P.B.U.H) insisted until she accepted and he assumed the duty of caring for and bringing up her offspring. Would then the missionaries and the Western Orientalists claim that Umm Salamah was a woman of rare beauty and that this is why Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had married her? If Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was indeed looking for beauty, there were scores of virgin daughters of both Muhājirūn and Ansār far surpassing his women in beauty, in youth, in position and wealth, in vitality, for him to choose from and to take in marriage. He did not have to choose those women who would bring to him large liabilities of mouths to feed and old people to take care of. The fact is that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) married Umm Salamah because of this noble motivation of his, the same reason for which he married Zaynab, daughter of Khuzaymah. It was this same reason which caused the Muslims to love their Prophet (P.B.U.H) all the more and honor him as the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) and to see in

him a father to the destitute and the deprived and the weak and the poor as well as to everyone who had lost his father as a martyr in the cause of Allah.

Historical Analysis and its Results

What does true historical analysis conclude from all this? It concludes that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) stood for monogamy and counseled its observance. This is the substance of the example of his married life with Khadijah, as well as that of the Qur'ānic commandments,

﴿ فَٱنكِحُواْ مَا طَابَ لَكُم مِّنَ ٱلنِّسَآءِ مَثۡنَىٰ وَثُلَٰثَ وَرُبَٰعَۖ فَإِنۡ خِفۡتُمۡ أَلَّا تَعۡدِلُواْ فَوَٰحِدَةً أَوۡ مَا مَلَكَتۡ أَيۡمَٰنُكُمۡ ﴿٣﴾ ﴾

سورة النساء آية ٣

(If you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly with the orphans, (marry women of your choice, two, or three, or four; but if you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly (with them), then only one, or will be more suitable,)

(An-Nisaa: 3)

﴿ وَلَن تَسۡتَطِيعُوٓاْ أَن تَعۡدِلُواْ بَيۡنَ ٱلنِّسَآءِ وَلَوۡ حَرَصۡتُمۡۖ فَلَا تَمِيلُواْ كُلَّ ٱلۡمَيۡلِ فَتَذَرُوهَا كَٱلۡمُعَلَّقَةِۚ ﴿١٢٩﴾ ﴾ سورة النساء آية ١٢٩

(You are never able to do just between wives even if it is your ardent desire: but turn not away (from a woman) altogether, so as to leave her (as it were) hanging (in the

air). (An-Nisaa: 129)

These verses were revealed toward the end of the eighth year of the Hijrah after the Prophet (P.B.U.H) had married all his wives. The purpose of these verses is to limit the number of wives to four whereas, until their Revelation, there was no limit to the number of wives a Muslim could marry. This historical fact repudiates the claim that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) has allowed himself that which he had forbidden to the people. Furthermore, these verses were revealed in order to stress the superiority of monogamy over polygamy. The Qur'àn commanded the limiting of one's self to one wife out of fear of the possibility of injustice and conviction that justice to more than one wife is not within the limits of men's capability. The Revelation, however, realized that in the exceptional circumstances of a people, it is quite possible that there might be a need for more than one wife; but it has limited polygamy to four and conditioned its practice to capacity for fairness and justice on the part of the husband. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) called the Muslims to realize these values by exemplifying them in his own life in a period in which Muslims made battle and fell as martyrs on every occasion. But could anyone in truth decide once and for all that monogamy is the absolute commandment in all conditions and circumstances? What would be the effect of such a law when wars and epidemics and revolution cut down thousands and millions of men in a brief while? Would then monogamy still be better than polygamy when restricted to the exceptional circumstances? Can the people of Europe in this age following World War I assert categorically that monogamy is the law of life of their own citizens, even if they may say it is the law in the books? Are not the social and economic disturbances which the world witnessed in Europe following the War the direct result of this imbalance between the two sexes, of their inability to bring about harmony and prosperity in their marital relations, and hence of their

insistence to seek that harmony outside the marriage bond? It is not my intention to decide the issue here. But I leave the matter to the reader to ponder. I do wish to repeat, however, that the happiness of the family and that of the community can best be served by the limitation which monogamy imposes. That is so, however, if and only if the life of the community itself is normal.

The Story of Zaynab, Daughter of Jahsh

As for the story of Zaynab, daughter of Jahsh, the chroniclers, Orientalists, and missionaries have mixed it with such products of vivid imagination that they have made of it a story of love and passion. Critical history, on the other hand, concludes that it is one of the truly great facets of Muhammad's personality (P.B.U.H). It proves beyond question that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was the perfect example of faith and conviction, for it is an instantiation of the principle that the faith of man is complete only when he truly loves for his brother that which he loves for himself. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had made himself always the exemplar of his own legislation, especially of such laws as were intended to replace the tradition and customs of pre-Islāmic Arabia. He was the examplar of the new system which Allah revealed through him as a mercy and guidance to mankind. For a repudiation of the whole story of Zaynab as reported by these chroniclers or Orientalists and missionaries, it is sufficient to realize that the said woman was the daughter of Umaymah and grand-daughter of 'Abd al Muttalib the uncle of the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H). It is sufficient to remember that this woman was brought up in sight of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and under his care, and on this account was regarded by him as a daughter or a young sister; that he knew too well whether she was beautiful or not before she ever married Zayd; that he saw her and followed her growth from childhood to maturity and

youth; and that it was he who asked her hand for Zayd, his adopted son. Once the reader knows these historical data, then all the fictitious elements and tales spun about him, namely, that he passed by her house in the absence of her husband and was struck by her beauty; that he opened the door of her house and, as the breezes played with the curtains of her room, he saw her stretched in her nightgown like a real "Madame Recamier," that his heart was so struck by her beauty that he instantly forgot Sawdah, 'A'ishah, Hafsah, Zaynab, daughter of Khuzaymah and Umm Salamah, his wives—not to mention the memory of Khadijah of whom 'A'ishah used to say that she had never felt jealous of an woman except Khadijah on account of the memory he kept of her—all these tales must dissolve. If any grain of them was true, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) would have taken her in marriage himself at first, rather than give her in marriage to Zayd. This historical relationship between Zaynab and Muhammad (P.B.U.H) rules out as utterly fictitious and groundless all the stories which have been attributed to Zaynab's attractiveness.

History, however, has more yet to tell. It proves that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) asked for the hand of his own cousin Zaynab for his adopted son Zayd. Her brother, 'Abdullah ibn Jahsh, refused to let his sister, the Hashimi and Qurayshi noble girl that she was, and the first cousin of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) in addition, become the wife of a slave whom Khadijah had bought and whom Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had set free. Such a union was regarded by him as well as by the Arabs in general as a thing of great shame. For the daughters of the aristocracy to marry their slaves, even though their slaves had become free, was plainly unthinkable. But Muhammad (P.B.U.H) sought to wipe out these racial and class distinctions between men. He sought to educate the whole world to the truth that no Arab is superior to any non-Arab unless it be in virtue and piety. For it was Allah who said,

﴿ إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِندَ ٱللَّهِ أَتْقَىٰكُمْ ﴾ سورة الحجرات آية ١٣

(Verily the most honored of you in the sight of Allah is (he who is) the most righteous of you.) (Al-Huijurat:13)

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) did not choose to force this noble principle upon a woman outside his own tribe and clan. Let it then be Zaynab, he thought, his very cousin, that will carry the first burden of this flagrant violation of Arabian custom. Let her be the destroyer of these pagan traditions. Let her cause herself, and therewith the whole tribe and religion of Muhammad (P.B.U.H), to endure all the criticisms that such an act would engender. And let Zayd, his own adopted son, be the person of lesser lineage to marry the noble Makkan aristocrat. On the other hand, Arab custom and tradition demanded that the adopted son inherit from his adopted father, like the latter's legitimate children. And since this custom too was the object of Muhammad's attack (P.B.U.H), his choice of Zayd as the spear point of the first reform, would actually make of him—if he were prepared to give up the inheritance to which Arabian custom gave him title—the spearhead of another Islamic legislation prohibiting inheritance to any but the blood heirs and relatives of the deceased. Thus, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) insisted that Zaynab agree to marry Zayd and that her brother 'Abdullah ibn Jahsh accept Zayd as a brother-in-law. Indeed, this furnished the occasion for the revelation that

﴿ وَمَا كَانَ لِمُؤْمِنٍ وَلَا مُؤْمِنَةٍ إِذَا قَضَى ٱللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُۥٓ أَمْرًا أَن يَكُونَ لَهُمُ ٱلْخِيَرَةُ مِنْ أَمْرِهِمْ ۗ وَمَن يَعْصِ ٱللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُۥ فَقَدْ ضَلَّ

ضَلَٰلًا مُّبِينًا ﴿٣٦﴾ سورة الأحزاب آية ٣٦

(It is not fitting for a Believer, man or woman, when a matter has been decided by Allah and His Messenger, to have any option about their decision: if anyone disobeys Allah and His Messenger, he is indeed on a clearly wrong Path.) (Al-Ahzab: 36)

Once the foregoing verse was revealed, neither 'Abdullah nor his sister Zaynab had any alternative but to acquiesce in the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) order. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) helped Zayd furnish a dowry for his bride-to-be and the marriage took place. After the wedding, the husband found in his wife a woman very hard to manage and to live with. Her pride continued to know no bounds. Indeed, she continued to deride Zayd, to boast of her lineage in his presence and to look down on him because of his having once been a slave. Zayd complained about her to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) more than once and even consulted with him in the matter of divorcing her. All along, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) would counsel him in these terms:

"Hold fast to your wife and fear Allah." Zayd's home life, however, did not improve and, unable to bear her false pride any longer, Zayd divorced her.

Adoption in Islam

The All-Wise Legislator willed to undo the Arab practice of adopting children and passing onto them the adopter's genealogy and name, his investment of them with all the rights of the legitimate son including that of inheritance and the prohibition of marriage on grounds of consanguinity. The Divine Legislator

willed to give the adopted son only the right of a client and co-religionist. In this sense, the verse was revealed that:

﴿ وَمَا جَعَلَ أَدْعِيَآءَكُمْ أَبْنَآءَكُمْ ۚ ذَٰلِكُمْ قَوْلُكُم بِأَفْوَٰهِكُمْ ۖ وَٱللَّهُ يَقُولُ ٱلْحَقَّ وَهُوَ يَهْدِى ٱلسَّبِيلَ ﴿٤﴾ ﴾ سورة الأحزاب آية ٤

(Nor has He made your adopted sons your sons. Such is (only) your (manner of) speech by your mouths. But Allah tells (you) the Truth, and He shows the (right) Way.)
(Al-Ahzab: 4)

It follows from this Revelation that the adopter may marry the ex-wife of his adopted son and vice-versa. But how is such provision to be implemented? Who, among the Arabs, could implement this legislation and thereby openly repudiate the ancient traditions? Even Muhammad (P.B.U.H) himself, despite his tremendous willpower and profound understanding of the wisdom implicit in the divine command, found himself disinclined to implement this judgment by marrying Zaynah after Zayd had divorced her. Indeed, the criticisms of the commonplace and the vituperations with which he was indicted in the public eye for breaking down such well' established custom did, for a time, influence Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) judgment and affected his decision. It was at this stage that the following divine criticism was addressed to Muhammad (P.B.U.H):

﴿ وَتُخْفِى فِى نَفْسِكَ مَا ٱللَّهُ مُبْدِيهِ وَتَخْشَى ٱلنَّاسَ وَٱللَّهُ أَحَقُّ أَن تَخْشَىٰهُ ﴿٣٧﴾ ﴾ سورة الأحزاب آية ٣٧

(But you did hide in your heart that which Allah was about to make manifest; you did fear the people, but it is more fitting that you should fear Allah). (Al-Ahzab:37)

The truth is, however, that Muhammad was the exemplar of obedience to Allah; his life was the implementation of that which he was entrusted to convey to mankind. The outcome, therefore, was that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) would not give any weight at all to the gossip of the people if he were to marry the ex-wife of his adopted son, since the fear of social condemnation is nothing comparable to that of condemnation by Allah, of disobedience to divine commandment. Thus, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) married Zaynab in order to provide a good example of what the All-Wise Legislator was seeking to establish by way of rights and privileges for adoption. In this regard, Allah said:

﴿ فَلَمَّا قَضَىٰ زَيْدٌ مِّنْهَا وَطَرًا زَوَّجْنَٰكَهَا لِكَيْ لَا يَكُونَ عَلَى ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ حَرَجٌ فِىٓ أَزْوَٰجِ أَدْعِيَآئِهِمْ إِذَا قَضَوْا۟ مِنْهُنَّ وَطَرًا ۚ وَكَانَ أَمْرُ ٱللَّهِ مَفْعُولًا ﴿٣٧﴾ ﴾ سورة الأحزاب آية ٣٧

(Then when Zaid had dissolved (his marriage) with her, We joined her in marriage to you, in order that (in future) there may be no difficulty to the Believers in (the matter of) marriage with the wives of their adopted sons, when the latter have dissolved (their marriage) with them. And Allah's command must be fulfilled.) (Al-Ahzab: 37)

Return to the Orientalists' Views

Such is the evidence critical history furnishes in the case of Zaynab, daughter of Jahsh, and of her marriage to Muhammad (P.B.U.H). She was his first cousin whom he knew well long before Zayd ever married her. It was he who asked for her hand on Zayd's behalf. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) often saw Zaynab even after her marriage to Zayd, for the veil was not then known. It was also the custom, on account of Zaynab's blood relation to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and Zayd's relation as adopted son, that the couple would refer to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) any complaint each may have against the other. As Zayd was not happy in his marriage with her, it was natural that both of them would seek advice and judgment in their domestic disputes. All these provisions of the divine law have been revealed, and they have been instanced in the case of Zayd and Zaynab's marriage and divorce, and of Zaynab's later marriage to Muhammad (P.B.U.H). These provisions had one purpose, namely the raising of the manumitted slave to the full status of freedom, and the repudiation of all the rights" of masters, protectors, and adoptive parents in clear and unequivocal terms. There is hence no ground for these fictitious stories woven by Orientalists and missionaries and repeated by Muir, Irving, Sprenger, Weil, Dermenghem, Lammens and other biographers of Muhammad (P.B.U.H). Their so-called scholarship is a scandalous piece of missionarizing. It is a masquerade of science. Their traditional antagonism to Islam, going back to the Crusades, has simply taken possession of their conscience, dictating and determining all that they write on the subject. It is this fundamental prejudice which vitiates their writing. Their "history" is a crime against history itself, for they choose to see, to note, and to report only the most scurrilous and fictitious reports to satisfy this end. Even if, though impossible, their claims were true, we would still refute them with the simple argument that the great stand above the law; that Moses, Jesus, Jonah, and others before Muhammad (P.B.U.H) have likewise risen above the laws of nature as well as of

society, some in their birth, others in their lives. None of this has affected their greatness. Muhammad (P.B.U.H), moreover, legislated for man and society by means of his Lord's Revelation. He executed those laws equally by his Lord's command. His life constitutes the highest ideal, the perfect example, and the concrete instance of his Lord's command. Would those missionaries have Muhammad (P.B.U.H) divorce his wives in order not to exceed the limit of four prescribed by Islamic law after Muhammad (P.B.U.H)? Wouldn't they then subject him to more severe criticism? But Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) treatment of his wives was just and noble. We have seen in the above-mentioned tradition of 'Umar ibn al Khattab some evidence thereto, and we shall see more yet in the sequel. Evidently, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) not only honored woman more than did any other man, but he raised her to the status which truly belongs to her—an accomplishment of which Muhammad (P.B.U.H) alone has so far been capable.

18

The Campaigns of al Khandaq and Banu Qurayzah

Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) Caution and Arab instinct

After the forced evacuation of Banū al Nadir from Madinah, and the events of the "second Badr," the campaigns of Ghatafān and Dawmat al Jandal, it was high time the Muslims felt a measure of security within their city. Hence, they applied themselves to the task of organizing their own internal affairs. Their constant preoccupation with security and war had largely prevented their engagement in agriculture or commerce. Nonetheless, their state of privation and need was largely ameliorated by the booty they acquired through these campaigns. Though Muhammad (P.B.U.H) felt relatively secure, he was always cautious lest the enemy strike without notice. He therefore had to maintain eyes, ears, and channels of communication throughout the Arabian Peninsula in order to learn of all the news of the tribes so that the Muslims might have time to prepare for defense in case of emergency. It is easy for us to appreciate the need for all these precautions after hearing of the treacherous attacks of

Quraysh and other tribes against the Muslims. The Arabian Peninsula of those days was covered with autonomous little republics, each of which extended over the territory inhabited or used by its various clans, and depended for its security on an intricate system of inter-tribal customs, pacts, and traditions, which we do not usually expect to find in the organizations of states in modern times. Since Muhammad (P.B.U.H) himself was an Arab and understood the will to retaliate innate in Arab character, he took extreme care to guard the Muslim community from all sides. Quraysh, the Jews of Banū Qaynuqa' and Banū al Nadir, the tribes of Ghatafān and Hudhayl as well as those living in the vicinity of al Sham, were all lying in wait for Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions. Each one of these groups awaited the opportunity to avenge itself on this man who had divided the Arabs in their religion, and, though emigrating from Makkah devoid of power or ally, had acquired, within the last five years by virtue of his great faith, such prestige and power as to make him a real threat to the strongest cities and tribes of Arabia.

Jewish Enmity

The Jews were perhaps the most cognizant of Muhammad's teachings (P.B.U.H) and the most apprehensive of the success of his message. They knew too well what consequences to them would be implied in the victory of Islam. In Arabia, having distinguished themselves through their monotheistic teachings, they competed with the Christians and were hoping soon to wrest all power from them throughout Arabia. They were right in their expectation inasmuch as the Semitic soul was by nature more inclined toward monotheism than to Christian trinitarianism. As if to spoil that promise and dash those hopes, Muhammad (P.B.U.H), the pure Arab and pure Semite, was calling men to

the monotheistic truth with strong and emphatic words which penetrate to the nethermost depths of consciousness. His revelation overwhelmed and intoxicated the soul. It caused man to transcend himself. Furthermore, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) achieved such political and worldly power that he had forced the evacuation of Banū Qaynuqa' from Madinah, and the Banu Nadir from their lands. Would they then leave him alone and return to their previous abodes in al Sham and in the promised land of Jerusalem, or would they confront him here in Arabia by rallying the Arab tribes to seek revenge from him?

Jewish Preference of Paganism to Islam

It was the latter idea that finally gripped Banu al Nadir. In pursuit of it, their leaders Huyayy ibn Akhtab, Sallam ibn Abu al Huqayq, Kinanah ibn al Huqayq, together with Hawdhah ibn Qays and Abū 'Ammār, both of the tribe of Banū Wa'il, went to Makkah for consultation with the Quraysh leaders. When Huyayy was asked about his tribe, he told the Quraysh that he had left them between Khaybar and Madinah awaiting the arrival of the Makkans that they might join them in battle against Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions. When the Makkans inquired about Banu Qurayzah, he answered that they had remained within Madinah in order to plot against Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and to spring against his men from behind once the Makkans launched their attack. The Quraysh hesitated. They knew only too well that in the last analysis, there was no difference between them and Muhammad except in this matter of his new faith; and even in it, they were not quite certain that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was entirely wrong since his worldly power had been on the increase every day. The Quraysh therefore asked the Jews to tell them, since they were the first People of the Book and held the keys of knowledge in the

matters in which the Quraysh disagreed with Muhammad (P.B.U.H), whether or not Muhammad's religion (P.B.U.H) was better than Makkan religion. The Jews answered by giving preference to Makkan religion over Islam and to Makkan rights over Muhammad's (P.B.U.H). It was to this that the Qur'ān referred when it said,

﴿ أَلَمْ تَرَ إِلَى ٱلَّذِينَ أُوتُوا۟ نَصِيبًا مِّنَ ٱلْكِتَٰبِ يُؤْمِنُونَ بِٱلْجِبْتِ وَٱلطَّٰغُوتِ وَيَقُولُونَ لِلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا۟ هَٰٓؤُلَآءِ أَهْدَىٰ مِنَ ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا۟ سَبِيلًا ۝ أُو۟لَٰٓئِكَ ٱلَّذِينَ لَعَنَهُمُ ٱللَّهُ ۖ وَمَن يَلْعَنِ ٱللَّهُ فَلَن تَجِدَ لَهُۥ نَصِيرًا ۝ ﴾

سورة النساء الآيات ٥١-٥٢

(Have you not turned your vision to those who were given a portion of the Book? They believe in Sorcery and evil Taghut and say to the Unbelievers that they are better guided in the (right) way than the Believers! They are (men) whom Allah has cursed: and those whom Allah has cursed, you will find, have no one to help.) (An-Nisaa: 51-52)

This attitude of the Jews toward Quraysh and their favoring of the latter's paganism over the monotheism of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was the of a severe rebuke by Israel Wolfenson, who wrote in his ***The Jews in Arabia:*** "It was the duty of the Jews not to allow themselves to get involved in such a scandalous mistake. They should have never declared to the leaders of Quraysh that the worship of idols was better than Islamic monotheism even if this were to imply frustration of their re-

quests. The Jews, who have for centuries raised the banner of monotheism in the world among the pagan nations, who have remained true to the monotheistic traditions of the fathers, and who have suffered throughout history the greatest misfortunes, murders, and persecutions for the sake of their faith in the One God should, in loyalty to this tradition, have sacrificed every interest—nay their very lives—to bring about the downfall of paganism. Furthermore, by allying themselves with the pagans they were in fact fighting themselves and contradicting the teachings of the Torah which commands them to avoid, repudiate—indeed to fight the pagans.

The Jews' Rallying of the Arab Tribes

This brazen self-contradiction, this favoring of paganism over monotheism and the encouragement of pagan forces to rise against the monotheistic forces—all this was not enough for Huyayy ibn Akhtab and the Jewish leaders who accompanied him on his trip to Makkah. After securing a definite date from the Makkans for the attack against Muhammad (P.B.U.H), the same leaders went to the Ghatafān clan of Qays Ghaylan, to the tribes of Banu Murrah, Banu Fazārah, Ashja', Sulaym, Banū Sa'd, Asad, and all those who had fought with the Muslims to instigate a general mobilization on the side of Quraysh for a revengeful war on Muhammad (P.B.U.H). In order to placate these tribes, the Jews commended and praised their pagan practices and prophesied that victory would certainly belong to paganism. All these parties which the Jews had rallied against Muhammad (P.B.U.H) marched against Madinah. The Quraysh sent an expeditionary force of four thousand infantrymen, a cavalry of three hundred, and a camel-corps of one thousand five hundred. This huge army was led by Abū Sufyan in person. The flag of Makkah and, hence, the leadership of battle was assigned

to ‘Uthmān ibn Talhah, whose father had been killed carrying that same flag in the Battle of Uhud. The Banū Fazarah tribe sent a large number of infantrymen and a camel corps of one thousand under the leadership of ‘Uyaynah ibn Hisn ibn Hudhayfah. The tribes of Ashja‘ and Murrah supplied four hundred soldiers each, under the leadership of al Hārith ibn ‘Awf and Mis’ar ibn Rukhaylah respectively. Sulaym, the tribe which engaged the Muslims at the battle of the well of Ma’ūnah, sent seven hundred soldiers. To this tremendous number, the tribes of Banū Sa‘d and Banū Asad added more soldiers and more cavalry until the total number reached ten thousand or more. This whole army moved in the direction of Madinah under the general leadership of Abū Sufyan. After they had reached the outskirts of Madinah and encamped, the leadership of the army as a whole really revolved among the leaders of the various tribes.

The Muslims’ Panic

When news of this tremendous mobilization reached Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and the Muslims in Madinah, it struck them all with panic. The mobilization of the whole of Arabia against them instilled fear in their hearts as they faced the prospect of being not only defeated but wiped out. The gravity of the situation was evident in the fact that the army the Arab tribes had now raised surpassed in number and equipment anything the Peninsula had ever seen before. If the Quraysh had won a victory over the Muslims at Uhud singlehanded, what was likely to be the outcome of a battle in which the enemy’s force was many times greater in number and equipment? What would they do against such an overwhelming preponderance of men, horses, camels, arms, and ammunitions? Obviously, there was no defense open to them except self-fortification within the walls of

Yathrib, the invincible city, as 'Abdullah ibn Uhayy had previously described it. But would such fortification stand in face of such overwhelming power? Salman al Fārisi, who knew far more of the techniques of warfare than was common in the Peninsula, advised the digging of a dry moat around Madinah and the fortification of its buildings within. The Muslims hurried to implement this counsel. The moat was dug and the Prophet (P.B.U.H) worked with his hands alongside his companions lifting the dirt, encouraging the Muslim workers, and exhorting everyone to multiply his effort. All the Muslims picked up their digging utensils, their picks and shovels, and borrowed more tools from the Qurayzah Jews who remained true to their covenant with Muhammad (P.B.U.H). With tremendous effort and exertion, the whole moat was dug in six days. At the same time, the walls of the buildings on the perimeter of the city facing the enemy were also reinforced, their inhabitants were evacuated and the buildings were reserved for military use. The women and children were removed to the interior and placed within fortified walls. Rocks were gathered and placed on the inner side of the moat for use as possible projectiles against the enemy if the need arose.

Quraysh in Front of the Dry Moat

The Quraysh and their allies arrived at Uhud hoping to meet the Muslim forces there. Disappointed in this, they proceeded to Madinah where, to their surprise, they found an impassable ditch surrounding the whole city. They never expected this kind of defense, and their anger and resentment became so strong that they accused the Muslims of cowardice for taking refuge behind such an unusual trick of war. Their army encamped in the plain called Rumah, and the forces of Ghatafān and its allies encamped in the plain called Dhanab Naqamā. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) amassed three thousand Muslims on the side of Sal'

mountain in Madinah. Only the ditch separated him from the enemy. There the Muslim army built a number of tents to prepare itself for the long siege, and Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had his own red tent erected for his use. The Quraysh and the Arab tribes realized the impossibility of crossing the moat and were, therefore, forced to restrict their military activity to the exchange of javelins for a number of days.

Soon, Abu Sufyfan and his colleagues became convinced that they were going to have to lay siege to Yathrib for a very long time before they could storm it. The season was winter, the cold unbearable, and wind and storm continually threatened heavy rain. It was possible for the people of Makkah and Ghatafan to protect themselves from the storm only if they were in the shelter of their own cities. But here, the tents which they had put up before Yathrib provided little or no protection. They had joined the expedition in search of easy victory, expecting the whole affair to last a day or two, as did the Battle of Uhud. They expected to return quickly home, there to celebrate with songs of victory while dividing all kinds of wealth and booty. How could the army of Ghatafān return empty handed when the sole reason for its participating in this war was the Jewish promise that in case of victory a whole year's crop of the orchards of Khaybar would be theirs as a free gift? Now, they realized that victory was not going to be easy, for it was going to cost at least the trouble of spending the whole wintry season, and this alone counterbalanced all the fruits and crops of the orchards. As for Quraysh, they were eager to avenge themselves for the previous defeats. But it was becoming amply clear that victory was impossible as long as Muhammad (P.B.U.H) controlled the other side of the ditch while the Banu Qurayzah supplied Madinah with enough food provisions to enable them to hold to their fortress for months and even years. No wonder, then, that some of the allies of Makkah began to think of returning home. Their leaders realized, however, that the remobilization of such an

overwhelming force would not be easy to accomplish once they were demobilized and allowed to disperse. Led Huyayy ibn Akhtab, the jews had been capable of mobilizing these tribes as they sought to avenge themselves on Muhammad (P.B.U.H) for all the injuries he had inflicted upon them as well as upon the Banu Qaynuqa'. If this opportunity were to escape, would it ever return again? If Muhammad (P.B.U.H) were to gain an easy victory by the withdrawal of the Makkans and their allies, would he then not turn against the Jews?

Jewish Fear of Makkan Withdrawal

Huyayy ibn Akhtab weighed all these considerations. He realized that there was no escape from using the very last trump card he had. He told his allies that he would convince the Banū Qurayzah to violate their covenant with the Muslims in order to join his camp, and that Muslim supplies would then be cut off and a road to the interior of Yathrib would lie open. Quraysh and Ghatafan were quite pleased with the news. Pursuing this scheme, Huyayy went to the quarter of Banū Qurayzah and asked to see Ka'b ibn Asad, their leader, whose door was slammed shut in his face. Apparently, Banu Qurayzah knew too well that treason might bring some advantages in case of Muslim defeat but that it would provide cause for extermination in case of Muslim victory. Huyayy, however, insistently kept knocking at the door until the gate was opened and he was let in. He asked Ka'b to listen to his warning that he had come with the greatest army ever assembled in Arabia, the armies of Quraysh, Ghatafan, and all their leaders and noblemen. He pleaded that all these allies and leaders had pledged not to leave the place until Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions were utterly destroyed. Ka'b hesitated, remembering Muhammad's loyalty (P.B.U.H) to his covenant. He feared the evil consequences a sad

turn of events might bring. Huyayy determinedly continued to reiterate the sufferings which the Jews had borne at the hand of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and which they would have to bear in case the war did not succeed. At last Ka'b weakened and began to lend his ear. Huyayy described the forces of the Makkan allies, their equipment and number, and reasoned that only the ditch prevented the forces from assaulting the Muslims and finishing them off in a brief hour. To Ka'b's question as to what would be the fate of the Banū Qurayzah in case the Makkans and their allies were to withdraw, Huyayy answered that he and his party of Jews would then join the Banū Qurayzah in their own quarter and share with them whatever fate might bring. At this, Ka'b's Jewish feeling stirred, moving him to yield to Huyayy, to accept his demands, to repudiate his covenant with Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and the Muslims, and to join the ranks of their enemies.

The Prophet's (P.B.U.H) Warning to Banū Qurayzah

The news of this betrayal by the Banu Qurayzah reached Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions and shook them greatly. Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh, leader of al Aws, and Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah, leader of al Khazraj, together with 'Abdullah ibn Rawahah and Khawwat ibn Jubayr, were ordered by Muhammad (P.B.U.H) to ascertain the news and report back to him. They were instructed not to announce their findings in case the news was true, for fear it might adversely affect the army's morale. The delegates came to the Jewish quarter and found the situation worse than it had been reported. They sought by argument to bring the Jews back to honoring their covenant with Muhammad (P.B.U.H). But Ka'b impertinently required that the Muslims return the Jews of Banū al Nadir back to their quarters in Madinah. Sa'd ibn Mu'adh, with whose tribe the Banū

Qurayzah were closely allied, sought to convince Ka'b that the fate of Banū al Nadir or something worse might befall them in case they persisted in this treason. Giving full vent to their resentment, the Jews began to insult the Prophet (P.B.U.H). Ka'b said: "And who is this so-called Prophet of God? There is neither covenant nor peace between us and him." The conversation was quickly ended, and the Muslims left the scene hastily to prevent the possible outbreak of open fighting.

Morale of the Makkans and Their Allies

Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) delegates returned and reported to him what they had seen and heard. Muslim leaders were gravely apprehensive. They feared that the side of Qurayzah would now open for the Makkans and their allies, that the latter would enter the city and rout them. Their fear was not imaginary but quite real. As was expected of them, Banu Qurayzah immediately cut off all supplies to the Muslims. On the Makkan side, there was rejoicing when Huyayy ibn Akhtah reported the treason of Banu Qurayzah, and their rallying to Quraysh and Ghatafan. The morale of the Makkan forces took a sharp rise as they began to prepare for the day of battle. The Banū Qurayzah had actually requested the Makkans, first, to wait ten days before invading Madinah so that they might prepare themselves; and second, to keep constant pressure upon the Muslims and thus prevent any Muslim attack upon them before their military preparations were complete. That was exactly what happened. The enemy divided itself into three main brigades. The first, led by ibn al A'war al Sulami, was to assault the Muslims from across the valley. The second, led by 'Uyaynah ibn Hisn, was to attack from the flank. Finally, the third under the command of Abu Sufyān was to launch its attack across the ditch. It was with reference to this deployment of enemy forces that the Qur'ān said:

﴿ إِذْ جَآءُوكُم مِّن فَوْقِكُمْ وَمِنْ أَسْفَلَ مِنكُمْ وَإِذْ زَاغَتِ ٱلْأَبْصَٰرُ وَبَلَغَتِ ٱلْقُلُوبُ ٱلْحَنَاجِرَ وَتَظُنُّونَ بِٱللَّهِ ٱلظُّنُونَا۠ ﴿١٠﴾ هُنَالِكَ ٱبْتُلِىَ ٱلْمُؤْمِنُونَ وَزُلْزِلُوا۟ زِلْزَالًا شَدِيدًا ﴿١١﴾ وَإِذْ يَقُولُ ٱلْمُنَٰفِقُونَ وَٱلَّذِينَ فِى قُلُوبِهِم مَّرَضٌ مَّا وَعَدَنَا ٱللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُۥٓ إِلَّا غُرُورًا ﴿١٢﴾ وَإِذْ قَالَت طَّآئِفَةٌ مِّنْهُمْ يَٰٓأَهْلَ يَثْرِبَ لَا مُقَامَ لَكُمْ فَٱرْجِعُوا۟ ۚ وَيَسْتَـْٔذِنُ فَرِيقٌ مِّنْهُمُ ٱلنَّبِىَّ يَقُولُونَ إِنَّ بُيُوتَنَا عَوْرَةٌ وَمَا هِىَ بِعَوْرَةٍ ۖ إِن يُرِيدُونَ إِلَّا فِرَارًا ﴿١٣﴾ ﴾

سورة الأحزاب الآيات ١٠-١٣

(Behold! they came on you from above you and from below you, and behold, the eyes swerved and the hearts gaped up to the throats, and you imagined various (vain) thoughts about Allah! In that situation were the Believers tried: they were shaken as by a tremendous shaking. And behold! the Hypocrites and those in whose hearts is a disease say: "Allah and His Messenger promised us nothing but delusions!" Behold! A party among them said: "You men of Yathrib! you cannot stand (the attack)! therefore go back!" And a band of them ask for leave of the Prophet saying, "Truly our houses are bare and exposed," though they were not exposed: they intended nothing but to run away.) (Al-Ahzab: 10-13)

It was only too human for the people of Yathrib to grumble with fear and panic. They were disappointed at this turn of events. Whereas Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had promised them the wealth and treasures of Chosroes and Caesar, they now felt as afraid to venture outside the confines of their own city as did

those who were disheartened at the prospects of the war. Did they not see death advancing upon them, shining in the brilliance of the swords which were being brandished by the Quraysh and Ghatafān tribesmen? Did they not have reason to be disheartened when their immediate neighbors, the Banū Qurayzah, threatened to attack them treacherously from within and to enable their enemies to infiltrate behind their lines? Would it not have been better for them, they pondered, to have utterly destroyed the Banu al Nadir rather than allow them to emigrate and take their possessions with them? Had the Muslims finished them then, Huyayy and his companions would not have now instigated this general Arab war. Certainly, this was a moment of great apprehension and danger. Surely this was a terrible and fateful day. Its disposal was in the hand of the Almighty alone.

Engagement of the Forces

The Makkans and their allies were encouraged and their morale was uplifted by the news of the new alliance. Some Quraysh horsemen, including 'Amr ibn 'Abd Wudd, 'Ikrimah ibn Abu Jahl, and Dirār ibn al Khattāb sought to advance across the ditch. After finding a point where the ditch was narrow, they succeeded in entering it and took position on its inner side near Sal'. 'Ali ibn Abu Tālib and other Muslims proceeded to meet them and to seal the breach through which they advanced. 'Amr ibn 'Abd Wudd challenged the Muslims to a duel. When 'Ali ibn Abū Tālib answered his call, 'Amr replied: "Why, O Cousin! By God, I do not wish to kill you." 'Ali answered, "But I do." The duel started, and no sooner had it got under way than 'Ali killed Amr and the companions of the latter ran for their lives. They jumped over the ditch thinking only of the death which was following them. Nawfal ibn 'Abdullah ibn al Mughirah sought to jump over the ditch shortly after sunset on that same day. But the

ditch was too wide and both horse and rider fell into it to their death. Abū Sufyan then demanded one hundred camels as bloodwit. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) rejected the demand, however, and condemned Nawfal as an aggressor whose death was unworthy of bloodwit.

The Makkans and their allies now launched a tactical war of nerves against the Muslims in order to destroy their spirit. In order to frighten the Muslims, tribesmen of Banū Qurayzah began to descend from their fortifications and occupy the houses closer to the Muslim quarters. Safiyyah, daughter of 'Abd al Muttalib, was at Fani', the fortress of Hassān ihn Thābit, which was also full of women and children. A .Jew approached their house and started to circumscribe it, inspecting its sides and fortifications. Safiyyah asked old Hassān to go out and kill the Jew because he was obviously reconnoitering the fort preliminary to storming it. At the time the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and his companions were busy with other matters, and Safiyyah felt that the danger should be eliminated at once by herself, if not by Hassān. When Hassan declined to do as she requested, she seized a solid bar, went to the Jew, and beat him with it until she killed him. When she returned, she asked Hassān to go down and to dispossess the Jew of what he had. She apologized, saying that she would have finished the job herself had the victim not been a man. Nonetheless, Hassān refused to budge.

Dividing the Enemies against Themselves

While the people of Madinah suffered from fear and threat, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) concentrated his thoughts on finding means of saving the community. Certainly no purpose would be fulfilled by forcing a confrontation with the enemy. The only alternative left for him was to attempt a ruse. He therefore sent a messenger to Ghatafan with the promise of one third of the total

crop of Madinah if they withdrew and went home. Actually, Ghatafan was beginning to show signs of exhaustion and disapproval of this long siege for which they were not prepared. They had joined in this venture simply in order to appease Huyyay ibn Akhtah and his other Jewish companions. On the other hand, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) sent Nu'aym ibn Mas'ud to the Banū Qurayzah, their old friend from pre-Islāmic days whose conversion to Islam was not yet known to them, with the message that they should not join the ranks of the Makkans and fight with them unless and until the latter would give them a concrete guarantee that they would not be left alone to the mercy of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) should the tide of battle turn against them. Nu'aym had been a very good friend of the Banū Qurayzah for a long time before his conversion, and they therefore had no reason to doubt him. He reminded them of this friendship and warned them that their rallying to the side of Quraysh and Ghatafān against Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was liable to bring disaster, especially since neither Quraysh nor Ghatafān were likely to continue the siege for long. In that eventuality, nothing would prevent Muhammad (P.B.U.H) from inflicting upon them great harm. This made such good sense that the Banu Qurayzah were dissuaded from their treacherous course. Nu'aym then proceeded to the Quraysh camp and there intimated to their leaders that the Banū Qurayzah had repented their violation of the covenant with Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and that they were seeking to appease and befriend him anew by plotting to give up the noblemen of Quraysh that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) might execute them. Furthermore, he counseled them not to send their men to the Banū Qurayzah for fear that the latter might seize them and give them up to Muhammad (P.B.U.H). Nu'aym then proceeded to Ghatafan and there repeated the same offer and warning. His ruse worked, and the leaders of Qunaysh and Ghatafān began to probe each other on the matter. When Abū Sufyān sent to Ka'b, leader of Banū Qurayzah, asking him to

advance against the Muslims on the morrow and promising to follow up their advance with an advance of their own by Makkan forces, his messenger was turned back with the message that since the next day was a Saturday the Jews would neither fight nor work. Angry at their disobedience, Abu Sufyan believed the words of Nu'aym. He sent word to them that they had better hold their Sabbath on another day as fighting Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had become extremely necessary and the need for engaging him immediate. Abu Sufyan also warned that unless they joined the Makkans in battle on Saturday he would declare his pact with them null and void and, indeed, subject them to the brunt of Makkan attack. When the Banū Qurayzah heard this message of Abū Sufyan, they reiterated their resolution not to violate the Sabbath, reminding the messenger of divine wrath against its desecration. Moreover, they demanded guarantees for their future security. Their response dissipated any lingering doubts in Abū Sufyan's mind regarding Nu'aym's report. Discussing the problem with the leaders of Ghatafān, he discovered, much to his great dismay, that they deliberately hesitated to start the fight because of the Prophet's promise (P.B.U.H) to them of one-third of the crops of Madinah. Evidently, the Muslims' maneuver worked, much as it was objected to at the time by Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh, the leaders of al Aws and al Khazraj tribes, and other elderly consultants of the Prophet (P.B.U.H).

The Anger of Nature

On that same night a very strong wind blew and an extremely heavy rain fell. Thunder deafened the ears and the lightning was blinding. The storm was so wild that it swept the tents of the enemy off the ground and brought havoc to their camp. It struck fear into their hearts, and they believed that the Muslims were seizing this opportunity to launch their attack. Tulayhah ibn

Khuwaylid was the first to rise and openly to suggest to the Makkans and their allies to flee for their lives. He claimed that these evil omens signaled the start of Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) attack. Abū Sufyan followed him with the same counsel. "O people of Quraysh," he said, "Surely this is no place for you. The date trees around are uprooted and our work camels have perished. The Banu Qurayzah have abandoned us and cooperated with our enemies; the storm has taken its toll. All these things have brought terrible disadvantage to us. Let us move away from here. I shall be the first to give up." The armies prepared to withdraw, and each man carried as little as his camel, horse, or shoulders could bear and began to move while the storm continued to rage. The withdrawal was led by Quraysh, followed by Ghatafān and their allies. When the morning came, there was not one of them to be seen in the area. The Muslims returned to their homes in Madinah with the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and gave praise and thanks to Allah for their escape from the travails of war.

The Campaign against Banū Qurayzah

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) pondered the general situation of the cause of Islam. Allah had seen fit to remove the outside enemy, but the Banu Qurayzah remain in the midst of Madinah. Surely they were capable of repeating their treason in another season. Were it not for the internal division and sudden withdrawal of the Makkans and their allies, the Banu Qurayzah would have attacked Madinah and helped in the routing of the Muslims. Did not the common saying counsel, "Do not cut off the tail of the viper and allow it to go free?" The Banu Qurayzah, therefore, must be completely destroyed. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) ordered a mu'adhdhin to proclaim: '.'No pious Muslim will hold the mid-afternoon prayer except in the quarter of Banū Qurayzah," and a

general invasion began.He appointed 'Ali commander of the operation. Despite their exhaustion after the long siege, the Muslims advanced fully confident of the result. It is true that the Banū Qurayzah had fortified houses like those of Banū al Nadir. But if these were sufficient for defending them from Makkan attack, they were futile against the Muslims who were already in possession of the lands surrounding the Banū Qurayzah. Upon arrival at the Banu Qurayzah quarters, the Muslims found Huyayy ibn Akhtab al Nadiri bitterly reviling Muhammad (P.B.U.H), refuting his message and attacking the honor of his women. It was as though the Banū Qurayzah had a notion of what was coming to them now that the Makkans and their allies had withdrawn. When the Prophet (P.B.U.H) arrived at the scene, he was met by 'Ali, who asked him not to approach the Jewish camp. Upon enquiry, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) heard the Jews reviling him, and he said:

"Miserable wretches that you are, didn't Allah Himself put you to shame and send His curse upon you ?" In the meantime, the Muslims continued to pour into the area, and soon thereafter Muhammad(P.B.U.H) ordered the siege to begin.

The siege lasted twenty-five days and nights during which only a few javelins, arrows, and stones were shot between the two combatants. The Banū Qurayzah did not dare leave their quarters a single time. When, exhausted, they realized that their fortifications were not going to avail them, and that they must sooner or later fall into Muslim hands, they sent word to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) asking for Abu Lubābah, an al Aws tribesman and former ally, to negotiate with them. As he arrived, he was met by women and children in tears whose sight touched his heart. The Jews asked whether he counseled acquiescence to Muhammad's judgment. He answered, "By all means !" And, passing his hand over his throat, he said: "Otherwise, it will be a general carnage." Some biographers report that Abu Lubabah later regretted having given them this counsel. After he left, Ka'b

ibn Asad, their leader, suggested that they follow Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and convert to his faith, thereby securing themselves, their children, properties, and wealth from any harm. But the majority refused, promising not to abandon the Torah or exchange it for anything else. Ka'b then suggested that they kill their own women and children and go out to meet the Muslims with drawn swords free of any apprehension for their loved ones, and to fight Muhammad (P.B.U.H) to the bitter end. His idea was that should they lose, there would be neither family nor children for which to worry, but if they should win, Muslim women and children would all become theirs. Once more, the Banū Qurayzah said "No." They argued that life without their families was not worth the effort. Finally, Ka'b said that there remained no alternative for them but to acquiesce in Muhammad's disposal (P.B.U.H) of their case. After consulting one another, they decided that their fate would not be worse than that of Banu al Nadir, that their friends and former allies from al Aws tribe would give them some protection and that if they were to remove themselves to Adhri'āt in al Sham, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) would have no objection to letting them go.

Arbitration of Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh

Banu Qurayzah sent word to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) proposing to evacuate their territory and remove themselves to Adhri'at, but Muhammad (P.B.U.H) rejected their proposal and insisted on their abiding by his judgment. They sent to al Aws pleading that they should help them as al Khazraj had helped their client Jews before them. A group of al Aws tribesmen sought Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and pleaded with him to accept from their allies a similar arrangement to that which he accepted from the allies of al Khazraj. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) asked, "O men of al Aws, would you be happy if we allowed one of your

men to arbitrate the case?" When they agreed, he asked them to nominate whomsoever they wished. This was communicated to the Jews, and the latter, unmindful of the fate that was lying in store for them, nominated Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh. Sa'd was a reputable man of al Aws tribe, respected for his sound judgment. Previously, Sa'd was the first one to approach the Jews, to warn them adequately, even to predict to them that they might have to face Muhammad (P.B.U.H) one day. He had witnessed the Jews cursing Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and the Muslims. After his nomination and acceptance as arbitrator, Sa'd sought guarantees from the two parties that they would abide by his judgment. After these guarantees were secured, he commanded that Banū Qurayzah come out of their fortress and surrender their armour. Sa'd then pronounced his verdict that the fighting men be put to the sword, that their wealth be confiscated as war booty, and that the women and the children be taken as captives. When Muhammad (P.B.U.H) heard the verdict, he said: "By Him Who dominates my soul, Allah is pleased with your judgment,

O Sa'd; and so are the believers. You have surely done Your duty." He then proceeded to Madinah where he commanded a large grave to be dug for the Jewish fighters brought in to be killed and buried. The Banu Qurayzah did not expect such a harsh judgment from Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh, their former ally. They thought that he would plead on their behalf as 'Abdullah ibn Ubayy had done in the case of Banū Qaynuqā'. It must have occurred to Sa'd that if the Makkans and their allies had achieved victory through the treachery of Banū Qurayzah, the Muslims would surely have been subjected to the same fate of being killed and mutilated. He therefore imposed upon them the fate to which they sought to subject the Muslims. That the Jews showed great patience in the midst of tragedy is recorded for us in the story of Huyayy ibn Akhtab when he was brought for execution. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) said to him, "Had not Allah put you to shame, O Huyayy?" Huyayy answered, "Every man is

going to taste of death. I have an appointed hour which has now come. I do not blame myself for arousing your emnity." He then turned toward the people present and said, "O Men, it is all right to suffer Allah's decree. This tragic fate has been decreed by Allah for Banū Isrā'il." Al Zubayr ibn Bata al Quraziyy, another Jew, had done a favor to Thabit ibn Qays on the day of Bu'āth when he let him free after capturing him. Thabit wanted to reciprocate the good deed on this occasion and asked the Prophet (P.B.U.H) to grant him the favor of al Zubayr's life. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) approved Thabit's request. When this came to the knowledge of al Zubayr, he pleaded that being an old man condemned to live in separation from his family and children, he had no use for life. Thābit then begged the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) to grant him also the life of Zubayr's wife and children, and the sparing of his property that al Zubayr might live in happiness. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) again granted his request. After al Zubayr heard of his family's salvation, he inquired about Ka'b ibn Asad, Huyayy ibn Akhtab, 'Azzāl ibn Samaw'al, and other leaders of the Banu Qurayzah. When he was told that they had all been killed, he asked to be dispatched with them, pleading: "I ask you, O Thabit, to dispatch me with my people, for life without them is not worth living, and I shall have no patience until I have rejoined my loved ones." Thus, he was killed at his own demand. The Muslims were always opposed to killing any women or children. On that day, however, a Jewish woman was executed because she had killed a Muslim by dropping a millstone on his head. It was of this woman that 'A'ishah used to say: "By Allah, I shall never cease to wonder how serenely that woman met her death." On that day, four Jews converted to Islam and were saved from death.

Huyayy's Responsibility for the Tragedy

We have seen how the lives of Banū Qurayzah were dependent upon Huyayy ibn al Akhtab, though the lives of both were terminated at the same time. It was he who violated the covenant that he, himself, had entered into with Muhammad (P.B.U.H) when the latter forced Banu al Nadir's evacuation from Madinah without killing a single person. Also, it was he who so incited the Quraysh, Ghatafan, and the other Arab tribes to fight Muhammad (P.B.U.H) that he became the very embodiment of Jewish-Muslim enmity. It was he who indoctrinated the Jews with the idea that they should have no peace unless Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and the Muslims were utterly destroyed. Likewise, it was he who inspired Banū Qurayzah to violate their covenant with Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and to repudiate their neutrality in the struggle needlessly and at such terrible cost. Finally, it was he who came to the Banu Qurayzah after the withdrawal of the Makkans and aroused them to engage the Muslims in a hopeless fight that was doomed before it started. Had the Banū Qurayzah acquiesced in the judgment of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) from the first day, and acknowledged their mistake in violating their previous covenant, their lives would have been saved. Unfortunately, Huyayy's soul was possessed by a consuming Jewish enmity to the Muslims. He imparted such a measure of this enmity to the Banu Qurayzah that their own ally, Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh, believed that even if they were forgiven, they would soon rally the tribes again to fight the Muslims anew. Such was their obsession with hatred of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and the Muslims that the Jews believed no life was worth living as long as the Muslim power was not broken and the Muslims were not subjugated or killed. However harsh the verdict which the arbitrator had reached in this regard, it was dictated by self-defense, as the arbitrator had become convinced that the presence or destruction of the Jews was a question of life and death for the Muslims as well.

The Spoils of War

The Prophet (P.B.U.H) divided the properties, women, and children of Banū Qurayzah among the Muslims after he had separated one-fifth for public purposes. Each man of the cavalry received two shares, one for himself and one for his horse. On that day, the Muslim force included thirty-six cavalrymen. Sa'd ibn Zayd al Ansāri sent a number of Banū Qurayzah captives to Najd where he exchanged them for horses and armour in order to increase Muslim military power.

Rayhānah, a captive woman of Banu Qurayzah, fell to the share of Muhammad (P.B.U.H), who offered her Islam. But she refused obstinately. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) even offered to marry her, but she preferred to remain his captive. It was her strong attachment to her religion and people which must have prevented her from joining Islam as well as from marrying the Prophet (P.B.U.H). Her hatred for the Muslims and for their Prophet (P.B.U.H) must have continued. No one had spoken of her beauty as they spoke of Zaynab, daughter of Jahsh. though a slight mention of this could be found in the chronicles. There was some disagreement as to whether she, upon entering the quarters of the Prophet (P.B.U.H), was asked to wear a veil as the protocol of the Prophet's house (P.B.U.H) demanded, or whether she remained like most other women of the Peninsula without a veil. One thing, however, is certain: namely, she remained in the quarters of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) until her death.

This expedition of the Makkans and their allies with its resultant destruction of the Banū Qurayzah enabled the Muslims to establish themselves as Madinah's absolute masters. The power of the ***munafiqin*** was finally broken, and all Arab tribes admired Muslim power, dominion, and the new prestige of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) as sovereign of Madinah. The Islamic

message, however, was not meant for Madinah alone but for the whole of mankind. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) and his companions still faced the task of preparing for the greater task ahead, namely bringing the word of Allah to the wide world, calling all men to the true faith and making that faith secure against all enemies. That is precisely what awaited them, and what we shall study in the sequel.



19

From the Two Campaigns to the Treaty of Hudaybiyah

Organization of the Arab Community

After the Battle of the Ditch and the destruction of Banū Qurayzah, the situation in Madinah stabilized in favor of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and the Muslims. The Arab tribes so feared the Muslims that many Qurayshis began to think that it might have been better for their tribe to have made peace with Muhammad (P.B.U.H), especially since he himself was a Quraysh tribesman and the Muhājirūn were all among its leaders and noblemen. The Muslims felt quite secure after they had destroyed Jewish power within and outside Madinah once and for all. For six months, they remained in Madinah during which their commerce prospered and they enjoyed a spell of peace and comfort. At the same time, the message of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) crystallized in the minds of his followers, and they learned better to appreciate his teachings and observe his precepts. The Muslims followed their Prophet (P.B.U.H) in reorganizing and remodeling the Arab community. Departing from tradition and reshaping society according to model principles were necessary steps in the making of that new society that Islam sought to establish in the world. In pre-Islāmic days,

the only social system known to the Arabs was that which their own customs had sanctified. In the matters of family and its organization, of marriage and its laws and divorce, and of the mutual relations of parents and children— in all these human relations—pre-Islāmic Arabia had not gone beyond the elementary dictates of its hard topography; namely, extreme ***laissez-faire*** on the one hand and extreme conservatism reaching to slavery and oppression on the other. Islam was therefore called upon to organize a nascent society which as yet had developed no traditions and looked with disdain on its heritage of social customs. Muslim society had great ambitions, however, for it looked forward to becoming within a short time the nucleus of a great civilization ready for a destiny of absorption of the Persian, Roman, and Egyptian civilizations. Islam was to give this nascent civilization its character and gradually to impress it with its own ethos and brand until, some day, Allah might find it proper to say of it:

﴿ ٱلۡيَوۡمَ أَكۡمَلۡتُ لَكُمۡ دِينَكُمۡ وَأَتۡمَمۡتُ عَلَيۡكُمۡ نِعۡمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ
ٱلۡإِسۡلَٰمَ دِينٗاۚ ﴿٣﴾ ﴾ سورة المائدة آية ٣

(This day have I perfected your religion for you, completed My favour upon you, and have chosen for you Islam as your religion.) (AL-Maidah: 3)

Relations between Men and Women

Whatever the nomadic nature of Arabian civilization had been before Islam, and regardless of whether or not such cities as Makkah and Madinah had enjoyed a level of civilization unknown to the desert, relations between men and women had

never extended much beyond the sexual. According to the witness of the Qur'ān, as well as of the traditions of that age, such relations were determined only by considerations of class or tribe, and were quite primitive in every other respect. The women used to show themselves off not only to their husbands but to any other men they pleased. They used to go out into the open country singly or in groups and meet with men and youths without hindrance or sense of shame. They exchanged with men glances of passion and expressions of love and desire. This was done with such blasé frankness and lack of shame that Hind, wife of Abu Sufyan, had no scruples whatever about singing on such a public and grave occasion as the Day of Uhud:

"Advance forward and we shall embrace you!
Advance forward and we shall spread the carpets for you!
Turn your backs and we shall avoid you!
Turn your backs and we shall never come to you."

Arab Eroticism

Among a number of tribes, adultery was not at all regarded as a serious crime. Flirting and courting were common practices. Despite the prominent position of Abu Sufyān and his society, the chroniclers tell, concerning his wife, a great many tales of love and passion with other men without implying any stain on her reputation. Whenever a woman gave birth to an illegitimate child, she felt no restraint about proclaiming the identities of all the men with whom she had had love affairs so that her child might be attributed to the man whom he most resembled. Likewise, there was no limit to the number of wives a man could take or to the number of his women slaves and concubines. Men were completely free to do as they pleased, and women were perfectly free to give birth as they pleased. The whole domain of man-woman relations had no seriousness or gravity except where

a scandal was uncovered which brought about disputes, fighting, or libel between one clan and another within the larger tribe. Only on such occasions did the flirtations, courtings, and adulterous rendezvous become reasons for shame, vituperation, or war. When hostility broke out between one house and another, men and women alike felt free to claim and accuse as they wished. The Arab's imagination is by nature strong. Living as he does under the vault of heaven and moving constantly in search of pasture or trade, and being constantly forced into the excesses, exaggerations, and even lies which the life of trade usually entails, the Arab is given to the exercise of his imagination and cultivates it at all times whether for good or for ill, for peace or for war. Should a man, for instance, pour out his imagination in the most sentimental and affected forms when addressing his sweetheart in private, one would think that was normal. But when the same man readily and publicly pours out that same imagination, in the event of war against his sweetheart's tribe or in personal disaffection for her, by describing her neck, breast, waist, hips, and all other aspects of her feminine form, we must conclude that the imagination knows little more of the woman than her sex, feminine form, and adeptness at making love. Despite the decisive blow which Islam had directed at this excessive cultivation of the imagination, much of it was embedded in the Arab psychic character described in the poetry of 'Umar ibn Abu Rabi'ah. Indeed, Arabic love poetry has hardly ever been free of this trait: a measure of it can still be found in the modern poetry of our own day.

Woman in Other Civilizations

The foregoing account may have struck the reader who is full of admiration for the Arabs and their civilization, including the Arabs of pre-Islām, as somewhat exaggerated. Such a reader *is*

certainly excused for so thinking, for he must be comparing the picture we have given with the actualities of the present age, intermingled as they certainly are with the ideal relations between man and woman, parents and children. Such comparisons, however, are false and lead the investigator astray. If the comparison is to be fruitful, one should undertake to contrast Arab society as we have described it in the seventh century C.E. with other societies of the same period. I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that Arab society, despite all its aberrations, was far superior to the societies of Asia and Europe. We do not have enough information to speak with authority on Chinese or Indian society of that age. But we do know that Europe was wallowing in such darkness that its family structure stood little higher than the most primitive levels of human organization. The ***Impcrium Romanun,*** possessor of the law, master of the world, and the sole competitor of the Persian Empire, regarded woman as far more inferior to man than she was in the Arabian desert. In Roman law, woman was regarded as a piece of movable property, owned by a man and disposable by him in any way he wished. The Roman male citizen exercised the right of life and death over his women, and did so by law. The law enabled the Roman citizen to treat his women as he would his slaves, making no distinction between them. It regarded a woman as the property of her father, then of her husband, and finally of her son. The right of property exercised over her person was complete, just as complete as the right of property over animals, things, and slaves. Moreover, woman was looked upon as a source of desire. Like an animal, she was not expected to have any control over her sex life. Because morality did not apply to her, it was necessary to fabricate the western artificial framework of absolute chastity in order to instil a sense of ethics in man-woman relations. This necessary though artificial framework furnished the womanly ideal of that society for several centuries afterwards. It will be recalled that Jesus—May God's peace be

upon him—was quite compassionate toward women, and that when his disciples expressed surprise at his fair treatment of Mary Magdalene, he proclaimed: "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her." Despite this charitable attitude toward women on the part of Christianity, Christian Europe continued to deride woman and to hold her in the greatest contempt very much as pagan Europe had done before. Europe did not only regard the relation of man to woman merely as a relation of male and female. It coalesced with this relationship that of owner to owned, master to slave, and the honorable to the dishonorable and contemptible. These attitudes have so determined the mind of Europe so long that for centuries the Europeans have asked whether woman has a soul; whether she is a morally responsible being; whether she is to render account on the Day of Judgment; or whether, like an animal, she is devoid of soul, subject to neither judgment nor responsibility, and entitled to no place at all in the kingdom of Allah.

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and Social Reconstruction

Led by divine revelation, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) recognized that there can be no social reconstruction of society without the cooperation of all its men and women members in mutually helping, loving, and sympathizing with one another. He realized that no society is viable where women do not enjoy rights as well as duties, where these rights and duties are not exercised in cooperation, reciprocal love and respect, and where men are nonetheless the leaders. To realize these conditions in Arab society quickly and by force of authority was not an easy affair. however strong the faith of Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) Arab followers, to take them slowly forward without exposing them to undue hardships was surer to succeed than otherwise. Slow progress intensifies the faith of the adherents and wins more

converts, whereas forced progress creates dissension and weakens the faith of many. The same was true of every social reconstruction Allah prescribed for the Muslims. Indeed, the same progressive reconstruction characterized the religious duties of Islam, namely prayer, fasting, ***zakat,*** abstaining from gambling, eating pork, and the like.

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) began to teach social reconstruction and to define the rights and duties of men and women to one another by talking about exemplary instances occurring between himself and his wives which all Muslims could witness. The veil was not imposed upon the wives of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) until shortly before the Campaign of al Khandaq, and the limitation of polygamy to four was not imposed until after that Campaign, indeed a whole year thereafter. It would be interesting to see how the Prophet (P.B.U.H) anchored the relationships of man and woman to sound foundations and how he prepared his followers for the equality of men and women under Islam. Islam wanted its women to have the same rights even as they have duties. But it wanted these rights and duties to be exercised in an atmosphere of mutual love, fairness, and compassion, and its men to enjoy the position of leadership.

Islam Forbids Fornication

As we saw earlier, the relationship between man and woman among the Muslims of the period, as among all Arabs, was limited to that of male to female. Fornication, exposure of the woman's flesh and ornaments in a way inviting molestation by men and arousing in them sexual desire, dominated the relationship. There was little or no room for any relationships expressing human spirituality, or for any communion between man and woman in their service to Allah. The presence of Jews and ***munafiqun*** in Madinah and their hostility to the new faith

caused many of their men to molest the Muslim women and led, as in the case of Banū Qaynuqā', to serious harm and injury to Muslim women. A great many unnecessary problems resulted from this situation. Had the Muslim women not exposed themselves outside their homes, thus inviting fornication, their identities would not have been known to the public and they would not have been harmed. Had this been the case, the Muslims would have avoided all these problems and could have made a fair start toward realizing the equality which Islam sought to realize between the sexes. This idea] might have been realized even without hardship to Muslim men and women. It was in this spirit that the Qur'ān announced:

﴿ وَٱلَّذِينَ يُؤْذُونَ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَٱلْمُؤْمِنَٰتِ بِغَيْرِ مَا ٱكْتَسَبُوا۟
فَقَدِ ٱحْتَمَلُوا۟ بُهْتَٰنًا وَإِثْمًا مُّبِينًا ﴿٥٨﴾ يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلنَّبِىُّ قُل لِّأَزْوَٰجِكَ
وَبَنَاتِكَ وَنِسَآءِ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ يُدْنِينَ عَلَيْهِنَّ مِن جَلَٰبِيبِهِنَّ ۚ ذَٰلِكَ أَدْنَىٰٓ
أَن يُعْرَفْنَ فَلَا يُؤْذَيْنَ ۗ وَكَانَ ٱللَّهُ غَفُورًا رَّحِيمًا ﴿٥٩﴾ ۞ لَّئِن لَّمْ يَنتَهِ
ٱلْمُنَٰفِقُونَ وَٱلَّذِينَ فِى قُلُوبِهِم مَّرَضٌ وَٱلْمُرْجِفُونَ فِى ٱلْمَدِينَةِ
لَنُغْرِيَنَّكَ بِهِمْ ثُمَّ لَا يُجَاوِرُونَكَ فِيهَآ إِلَّا قَلِيلًا ﴿٦٠﴾ مَّلْعُونِينَ ۖ
أَيْنَمَا ثُقِفُوٓا۟ أُخِذُوا۟ وَقُتِّلُوا۟ تَقْتِيلًا ﴿٦١﴾ سُنَّةَ ٱللَّهِ فِى ٱلَّذِينَ خَلَوْا۟
مِن قَبْلُ ۖ وَلَن تَجِدَ لِسُنَّةِ ٱللَّهِ تَبْدِيلًا ﴿٦٢﴾ ﴾

سورة الأحزاب الآيات ٥٨- ٦٢

And those who annoy believing men and women

undeservedly, bear (on themselves) a calumny and a glaring sin. O Prophet! tell your wives and daughters, and the believing women, that they should cast their outer garments over their persons (when out of doors): that is most convenient, that they should be known (as such) and not molested. And Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful. Truly, if the Hypocrites, and those in whose hearts is a disease, and those who stir up sedition in the City, desist not, We shall certainly stir you up against them: then will they not be able to stay in it as your neighbours for any length of time: They shall have a curse on them: wherever they are found, they shall be seized and slain). (Such was) the practice (approved) of Allah among those who lived aforetime: no change wilt you find in the practice (approved) of Allah. (Al Ahzab:58-62)

With this simple introduction, the Muslims were taught the necessity of outgrowing the customs of their predecessors. The Islamic legislation aimed at reorganizing society on a foundation of pure family life, free of intrusion from the outside. To reach this purpose, Islam declared adultery a grave sin. In consequence, the Muslims learned to appreciate the evil inherent in a woman's fornication and entanglement outside her family. The Qur'ān said,

﴿ قُل لِّلْمُؤْمِنِينَ يَغُضُّوا مِنْ أَبْصَارِهِمْ وَيَحْفَظُوا فُرُوجَهُمْ ۚ
ذَٰلِكَ أَزْكَىٰ لَهُمْ ۗ إِنَّ اللَّهَ خَبِيرٌ بِمَا يَصْنَعُونَ ﴿٣٠﴾ ﴾ وَقُل لِّلْمُؤْمِنَاتِ
يَغْضُضْنَ مِنْ أَبْصَارِهِنَّ وَيَحْفَظْنَ فُرُوجَهُنَّ وَلَا يُبْدِينَ زِينَتَهُنَّ إِلَّا
مَا ظَهَرَ مِنْهَا ۖ وَلْيَضْرِبْنَ بِخُمُرِهِنَّ عَلَىٰ جُيُوبِهِنَّ ۖ وَلَا يُبْدِينَ زِينَتَهُنَّ

إِلَّا لِبُعُولَتِهِنَّ أَوْ ءَابَآئِهِنَّ أَوْ ءَابَآءِ بُعُولَتِهِنَّ أَوْ أَبْنَآئِهِنَّ أَوْ أَبْنَآءِ بُعُولَتِهِنَّ أَوْ إِخْوَٰنِهِنَّ أَوْ بَنِىٓ إِخْوَٰنِهِنَّ أَوْ بَنِىٓ أَخَوَٰتِهِنَّ أَوْ نِسَآئِهِنَّ أَوْ مَا مَلَكَتْ أَيْمَـٰنُهُنَّ أَوِ ٱلتَّـٰبِعِينَ غَيْرِ أُو۟لِى ٱلْإِرْبَةِ مِنَ ٱلرِّجَالِ أَوِ ٱلطِّفْلِ ٱلَّذِينَ لَمْ يَظْهَرُوا۟ عَلَىٰ عَوْرَٰتِ ٱلنِّسَآءِ ۖ وَلَا يَضْرِبْنَ بِأَرْجُلِهِنَّ لِيُعْلَمَ مَا يُخْفِينَ مِن زِينَتِهِنَّ ۚ وَتُوبُوٓا۟ إِلَى ٱللَّهِ جَمِيعًا أَيُّهَ ٱلْمُؤْمِنُونَ لَعَلَّكُمْ تُفْلِحُونَ ﴿٣١﴾ سورة النور الآيتان ٣٠-٣١

(Say to the believing men that they should lower their gaze and guard their modesty: that will make for greater purity for them: and Allah is well acquainted with all that they do. And say to the believing women that they should lower their gaze and guard their modesty; that they should not display their beauty and ornaments except what (ordinarily) appear thereof; that they should draw their veils over their bosoms and not display their beauty except to their husbands, their fathers, their husbands' fathers, their sons, their husbands' sons, their brothers or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or the slaves whom their right hands possess, or male attendants free of sexual desires, or small children who have no carnal knowledge of women; and that they should not strike their feet in order to draw attention to their hidden ornaments. And O you Believers! turn you all together towards Allah in repentance that you may be successful.) (An-Nur: 30- 31)

Thus Islam worked toward the transformation of man-woman relations into one in which sex is possible only when

legitimate, and illegitimate sexual relationships are condemned as evil. In all other matters of human life, the relationships of men to women and vice versa are based on a foundation of absolute equality. Everybody is a servant of Allah, and everybody is mutually responsible for promoting virtue and the fear of Allah. If anyone stirred the sexual passion in other people, he would be guilty and obliged to repent and alone to Allah.

All this, however, was not sufficient to transform Arab character and wean it away from its original customs. Unlike the repudiation of associationism, the transformation of character could not be brought about with speed. This was only natural, for once a material has been given a certain form, it is not easy to transform that material except slowly and progressively. Even so, the desired change cannot be too radical. Human life is such that inherited custom and local traditions knead and mold it into a definite pattern. If this pattern is to bring change, it must be done slowly by degrees. Moreover, no such gradual change may be undertaken unless man transforms his inner self. It is. possible for man to change one aspect of himself by removing the hindrances abetting such change in that aspect. That is precisely what Islam did with the Muslims when it converted them to the unitization of Allah, to faith in Him, in His Prophet (P.B.U.H), and in the Day of Judgment. But many other aspects of Arab character, especially the material or social aspects, were not so radically transformed but remained nearer to what they had been before Islam. Arab laziness and love of conversation with women, traits kneaded into their character by life in the desert, were chronically resistant to change.

The Prophet's Home and His Wives(P.B.U.H)

In spite of the aforementioned rectification by the new reli-

gion of the relationships between the sexes, the Muslims did not depart radically from their previous customs. Often, one of them would enter the Prophet's house (P.B.U.H) and stay there for a long time enjoying conversation with the Prophet (P.B.U.H) or with his wives. But the Prophet had no time to spend on listening to each of his visitors, nor could he tolerate them to converse with his wives and broadcast their gossip. Seeking to free the Prophet (P.B.U.H)

from these minor cares, Allah revealed the following verses:

﴿ يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُواْ لَا تَدۡخُلُواْ بُيُوتَ ٱلنَّبِيِّ إِلَّآ أَن
يُؤۡذَنَ لَكُمۡ إِلَىٰ طَعَامٍ غَيۡرَ نَٰظِرِينَ إِنَىٰهُ وَلَٰكِنۡ إِذَا دُعِيتُمۡ فَٱدۡخُلُواْ
فَإِذَا طَعِمۡتُمۡ فَٱنتَشِرُواْ وَلَا مُسۡتَـٔۡنِسِينَ لِحَدِيثٍۚ إِنَّ ذَٰلِكُمۡ كَانَ
يُؤۡذِي ٱلنَّبِيَّ فَيَسۡتَحۡيِۦ مِنكُمۡۖ وَٱللَّهُ لَا يَسۡتَحۡيِۦ مِنَ ٱلۡحَقِّۚ وَإِذَا
سَأَلۡتُمُوهُنَّ مَتَٰعٗا فَسۡـَٔلُوهُنَّ مِن وَرَآءِ حِجَابٖۚ ذَٰلِكُمۡ أَطۡهَرُ
لِقُلُوبِكُمۡ وَقُلُوبِهِنَّۚ وَمَا كَانَ لَكُمۡ أَن تُؤۡذُواْ رَسُولَ ٱللَّهِ وَلَآ أَن
تَنكِحُوٓاْ أَزۡوَٰجَهُۥ مِنۢ بَعۡدِهِۦٓ أَبَدًاۚ إِنَّ ذَٰلِكُمۡ كَانَ عِندَ ٱللَّهِ عَظِيمًا
٥٣ ﴾

سورة الأحزاب آية ٥٣

(O you who believe! enter not the Prophet's houses, until leave is given you, for a meal, (and then) not (so early as) to wait for its preparation: but when you are invited, enter; and when you have taken your meal, disperse,

without seeking familiar talk. Such (behaviour) annoys the Prophet: he is shy to dismiss you, but Allah is not shy (to tell you) the Truth. And when you ask (his ladies) for anything you want ask them from before a screen: that makes for greater purity for your hearts and for theirs. Nor is it right for you that you should annoy Allah's Messenger, or that you should marry his widows after him at any time. Truly such a thing is in Allah's sight an enormity.) (Al Ahzab:53)

While this verse was addressed to the believers, the following was addressed to the Prophet's wives (P.B.U.H):

﴿ يَٰنِسَآءَ ٱلنَّبِيِّ لَسۡتُنَّ كَأَحَدٖ مِّنَ ٱلنِّسَآءِ إِنِ ٱتَّقَيۡتُنَّ فَلَا
تَخۡضَعۡنَ بِٱلۡقَوۡلِ فَيَطۡمَعَ ٱلَّذِي فِي قَلۡبِهِۦ مَرَضٞ وَقُلۡنَ قَوۡلٗا مَّعۡرُوفٗا ﴿٣٢﴾
وَقَرۡنَ فِي بُيُوتِكُنَّ وَلَا تَبَرَّجۡنَ تَبَرُّجَ ٱلۡجَٰهِلِيَّةِ ٱلۡأُولَىٰۖ وَأَقِمۡنَ ٱلصَّلَوٰةَ
وَءَاتِينَ ٱلزَّكَوٰةَ وَأَطِعۡنَ ٱللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُۥٓۚ إِنَّمَا يُرِيدُ ٱللَّهُ لِيُذۡهِبَ
عَنكُمُ ٱلرِّجۡسَ أَهۡلَ ٱلۡبَيۡتِ وَيُطَهِّرَكُمۡ تَطۡهِيرٗا ﴿٣٣﴾ ﴾

سورة الأحزاب الآيتان ٣٢-٣٣

(O Consorts of the Prophet! you are not like any of the (other) women: if you do fear (Allah), be not too complaisant of speech, lest one in whose heart is a disease should be moved with desire: but speak a speech (that is) just. And stay quietly in your houses, and make not a dazzling display, like that of the former Times of Ignorance: and establish Regular Prayer, and give Zakah; and obey Allah and His Messenger. And Allah only wishes

to remove all abomination from you, you Members of the Family, and to make you pure and spotless.) (Al Ahzab:32-33)

Social Foundations of Muslim Brotherhood

On this foundation Islam sought to construct the social order of the human community. Its core was the new relationship between man and woman. By its means Islam sought to remove the unchallenged dominion sex had hitherto exercised over this relationship. Its aim was to direct the community to a higher life where man might enjoy the pleasures of this world without corrosion of his moral fabric, and to lead man to a spiritual relationship with all creatures transcending agriculture, industry, trade, and the other preoccupations of life the relation-ship implicit in the life of faith which makes man the partner of angels. Other means which Islam employed for that same purpose were fasting, prayer, and zakāt by virtue of what each commands against adultery, injustice and evil doing and by virtue of what each enjoins by way of self-purification, submission to Allah alone, fraternity between the believers, and communion between man and all that is.

The Campaign of Banū Lihyān

The slow reorganization of society in preparation for the great transformation for which Islam was preparing humanity did not prevent Quraysh and the tribes from lying in wait for Muhammad (P.B.U.H). Nor did it prevent Muhammad (P.B.U.H) from taking the requisite precaution and being always on the alert, ready to strike terror in the hearts of his enemies

should the need arise. A case in point was the campaign of Banū Lihyān. Six months after the destruction of Banū Qurayzah, it came to Muhammad's notice (P.B.U.H) that the Banu Lihyān were marching from a locality near Makkah. Immediately, he remembered the case of Khubayb ibn 'Adiy and his companions, who were murdered by Banu Lihyan at the well of al Raji' two years ago, and sought to avenge them. However, he did not announce his purpose for fear that the enemy might be alerted and take refuge. He therefore announced that he wanted to go to al Sham and, after mobilizing his forces, he led them toward the north. When he felt secure that neither the Quraysh nor their neighbors were aware of his intentions, he turned to Makkah and proceeded in its direction full haste until he reached the camping grounds of the tribe of Banu Lihyān at Bu'rān. Some people, however, had noticed his change of direction, and eventually the Banū Lihyān were informed of his plan. They took refuge in the heights of the surrounding mountains, gathering with them their cattle and property. The Prophet (P.B.U.H), therefore, could not reach them. He sent Abu Bakr and a hundred cavalrymen in hot pursuit until they reached a place not far from Makkah called 'Usfan. He himself returned to Madinah on a day that was remembered for the hardship to the traveller which its extreme heat presented, as the following tradition clearly states:

"We returned and, by Allah's leave, we repent to Allah and praise Him. We take shelter and refuge in Allah from the travail of travel, the sadness of tragedy, and the realization of loss in relatives and property."

The Campaign of Dhū Qarad

A few days after Muhammad (P.B.U.H) returned to Madinah, a group led by 'Uyaynah ibn Hisn raided the outskirts of the city, seized the camels grazing in the area, killed their

shepherd, and carried off his wife. Apparently, he thought that the Muslims would not realize what had happened in time to catch up with him. Salamah ibn 'Amr ibn al Àkwa' al Aslami, however, who happened to be going that way to the forest with bow and arrows, beheld the raiders running away with their booty as they passed through the place called Thaniyyah al Wada' near al Sal'. He followed them, shot arrows at them and called for help throughout the pursuit. His call was soon heard by the Prophet (P.B.U.H) who alerted the people of Madinah, and Muslim cavalrymen came out from every direction. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) ordered them to pursue the raiders immediately, and he followed a little later with another force until he arrived at the mountain of Dhū Qarad. 'Uyaynah and his companions pressed ever faster toward Ghatafan where they could find protection from its tribesmen and escape from the Muslims. The Madinese cavalry overtook the enemy's rear, seized the stolen camels, and liberated the captive woman. Some companions were prepared to press the pursuit further and avenge the Muslims against 'Uyaynah. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) advised against this course, knowing that 'Uyaynah and his companions had already reached the tribe of Ghatafān and had fallen under their protection. The Muslims therefore returned to Madinah bringing with them the liberated woman and the camels. While in captivity and driving her own camel, the Muslim woman vowed that should that camel ever bring her back home, she would sacrifice it to Allah When she informed the Prophet (P.B.U.H) of her vow in Madinah, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) answered: "What a terrible reward you propose to the camel which served you and carried you to freedom! That is clearly an evil act, and no vow to perform an evil is valid."

The Campaign of Banū al Mustaliq

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) remained in Madinah for about two months, until the campaign of Banū al Mustaliq at al Muraysi‘, which has arrested the attention of every biographer of the Arab Prophet (P.B.U.H) and every historian. The importance of this campaign lies not in its military significance, but rather, in the internal division which it almost caused within the Muslim community, and which the Prophet (P.B.U.H) settled resolutely. Another important aspect of this campaign is its connection with the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) marriage to Juwayriyyah, daughter of al Hārith. A third aspect is its connection with the malignant slander of ‘A'ishah who, though hardly seventeen years of age, was able to repulse these falsehoods by her strong faith and sublime character.

The news reached Muhammad (P.B.U.H) that the Banū al Mustaliq, a clan of Khuzā'ah tribe, were mobilizing for war in the vicinity of Makkah and inciting the Arab tribes around them to assassinate Muhammad (P.B.U.H). Their leader was al Hārith ibn Aba Dirar. Acting quickly in seizing the initiative, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) hastened to strike and take them by surprise as was his custom. The two divisions of al Muhājirun and al Ansār which rallied to his immediate call were led by Abu Bakr and Sa‘d ibn ‘Ubādah, respectively. The Muslims encamped near a well called al Muraysi', not far from the encampment of their enemies. The allies of Banū al Mustaliq ran away upon hearing the news of the advancing Muslim army, with the result that the Banū al Mustaliq themselves were quickly encircled. In the short engagement which followed, the Muslims lost one man, Hishām ibn al Khattab by name, who was killed accidentally by a fellow Muslim. After losing ten men, the Banū al Mustaliq realized that they had better surrender to the Muslim forces. They were all made captives and their cattle confiscated.

The Plot of 'Abdullah ibn Ubayy

'Umar ibn al Khattab had a servant charged with taking care of his horse. After the Campaign of Banū al Mustaliq was over, this servant crowded out one of the al Khazraj tribesmen from the proximity of the well. As they quarreled together the man from Khazraj called on al Ansār for help; the other called for help from al Muhajirun. 'Abdullah ibn Ubayy, who had accompanied the Muslim forces on this expedition in order to secure some booty, arose when he heard the call and, venting his old hatred of al Muhajirun as well as of Muhammad (P.B.U.H), said to al Ansār:

"Indeed, al Muhājirun have not only crowded us here but even in our own homes. The case of our hospitality to them has been nothing short of the common saying, 'Feed your beast and one day it will devour you.' Surely when we return to Madinah, the stronger party shall force the evacuation of the weaker. Such *is* the fate that you have incurred with your own hands. You have allowed the Muslims to occupy your lands; you have willingly shared your wealth and crops with them. By Allah, if you could only deny them these privileges, they would have to leave you alone and seek somebody else's help."

The news of this speech of 'Abdullah ibn Ubayy was soon reported to the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H). Muhammad (P.B.U.H), satisfied that operations against the enemy had all been completed, was visiting with 'Umar ibn al Khattāb at the time. When the latter heard the report, 'Umar suggested that Bilāl be sent out to kill him instantly. With his usual foresight, patience, experience, and sense of leadership, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) declined 'Umar's suggestion, saying: "O 'Umar, what would the people think if they heard that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had begun to kill his own companions ?"

Nonetheless, the Prophet calculated that unless he took some resolute action, the situation might worsen. He therefore commanded his people to start off on their return to Madinah despite the inappropriateness of the hour. Ibn Ubayy in turn heard what had been reported to the Prophet (P.B.U.H), and he ran to him to deny the report and to explain that he had never entertained such ideas. This action did not affect Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) resolution to command the return. He traveled with his people continuously throughout the whole day and night and most of the second morning until they could bear the desert sun no longer. As soon as the people dismounted or sat down, they were so exhausted that they fell asleep. Their exhaustion caused them to forget the affair of Ibn Ubayy; and after they had rested, they hurried to Madinah carrying the captives and booty from Banū al Mustaliq. One of those captives was Juwayriyyah, daughter of al Hārith ibn Abū Dirār, the leader of the vanquished tribe.

Ibn Ubayy's Resentment of the Prophet (P.B.U.H)

After his return to Madinah with the victorious Muslims, Ibn Ubayy could not reconcile himself to their success, and his resentment of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and the Muslims stirred with unabated vigor. His hatred continued despite his apparent adherence to the faith and his emphatic claim that what was reported to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) at al Muraysi' was false. It was on this occasion that the ***Sūrah*** "al Munafiq was revealed in which we read the following Verses:

﴿ هُمُ ٱلَّذِينَ يَقُولُونَ لَا تُنفِقُوا۟ عَلَىٰ مَنْ عِندَ رَسُولِ ٱللَّهِ حَتَّىٰ يَنفَضُّوا۟ ۗ وَلِلَّهِ خَزَآئِنُ ٱلسَّمَٰوَٰتِ وَٱلْأَرْضِ وَلَٰكِنَّ ٱلْمُنَٰفِقِينَ لَا يَفْقَهُونَ ۝٧

يَقُولُونَ لَئِن رَّجَعْنَآ إِلَى ٱلْمَدِينَةِ لَيُخْرِجَنَّ ٱلْأَعَزُّ مِنْهَا ٱلْأَذَلَّ ۚ وَلِلَّهِ ٱلْعِزَّةُ وَلِرَسُولِهِۦ وَلِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَلَٰكِنَّ ٱلْمُنَٰفِقِينَ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ ﴿٨﴾

سورة «المنافقون» الآيتان ٧ - ٨

(They are the ones who say, "Spend nothing on those who are with Allah's Messenger, till that they disperse (and quit Medina)." But to Allah belong the treasures of the heavens and the earth; but the Hypocrites understand not. They say, "If we return to Medina, surely the more honourable (element) will expel therefrom the meaner." But honour belongs to Allah and His Messenger, and to the Believers; but the Hypocrites know not.) (Munafiqun: 7- 8)

Some people believed that the Revelation of these verses was a verdict of death passed on Ibn Ubayy and that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) would soon command his execution. Upon learning of this Revelation, 'Abdullah, son of 'Abdullah ibn Ubayy, who was a true and loyal Muslim, ran to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and said: "o Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), I have heard that you are seeking to kill 'Abdullah ibn Ubayy because of reports which have reached you about him. If this is true, I ask that you command me to do the execution, and I promise to bring to you his head forthwith. By Allah, it is known that nobody supported al Khazraj tribe as my father did. Should anyone else besides me kill him, I will have to suffer myself to see the murderer of my father go about without avenging him. But I cannot bear such a torture, and the results may be that I will kill the murderer of my father, thereby killing a believer and incurring eternal punishment for myself in hell." Such were the words Of 'Abdullah ibn Ubayy's son to Muhammad (P.B.U.H). It is hardly possible to appreciate the struggle within 'Abdullah's soul of filial loyalty, genuine faith, tribal chivalry, concern for the

preservation of peace, and the prevention of blood feuds among the Muslims. Though he realized that his father was going to be killed, he did not plead to save the condemned life. He believed that the Prophet (P.B.U.H) does what he is commanded by his Lord, and was absolutely certain of his father's treason. But his filial loyalty, personal dignity, and Arab chivalry demanded that he avenge the death of his father. Hence, he was prepared to undertake the killing of his own father, however such a deed might rend his heart and expose his conscience to ruinous self-reproach. He found consolation for his tragedy in his own faith in the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and in Islam. This faith convinced him that if he were to follow the voice of Arab chivalry and filial piety and kill the executioner of his father, he would incur eternal punishment. His was a sublime struggle between faith, emotion, and moral character; and his tragedy was beyond comparison. After hearing his plea, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) answered: "We shall not kill your father. We shall be kind to him, and we shall appreciate his friendship as long as he wishes to extend it to us."

The sublimity and greatness of forgiveness! Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was touched and he stretched forth a kindly hand toward the one who had incited the people of Madinah to rise against the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and his companions. His gentleness and pardon were to have far greater effect than punishment. After this episode, whenever an occasion arose for the Muslims to criticize 'Abdullah ibn Ubayy, they used to remind him that his very life was a gift Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had made to him. One day, when the Prophet (P.B.U.H) was conversing with 'Umar on the affairs of the Muslim community, the criticism ibn Ubayy was meeting from his peers was mentioned. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) asked 'Umar: "Had I commanded him to be killed the day you advised me to do so, many men would have never entered Islam. These same men, were I to command them today to kill him they would do so without

hesitation." 'Umar apologized and acknowledged the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) superior judgment.

'A'ishah at the Campaign of Banū al Mustaliq

All the foregoing took place after the Muslims had returned to Madinah with their fruits of victory. Something else had happened on that expedition which was far removed from military affairs and concerning which there was little talk at first. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) was in the habit of drawing lots among his wives whenever he went on an expedition, and would take in his company that wife whose lot happened to be drawn. On the occasion of the campaign of Banū al Mustaliq, it was the lot of 'A'ishah that was drawn. 'A'ishah was petite, slim and light; her presence inside the palanquin in which she rode was hardly noticeable by the men who would lift it for placement on camelback. As the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and his expeditionary force were returning to Madinah after their long and exhaustive journey, they camped not far from Madinah in order to spend the night and recover their energies. At dawn or before, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) gave the sign to resume the travel. 'A'ishah had stepped out of the Prophet's tent (P.B.U.H) while her palanquin was placed at the entrance of it that she might ride therein and travel be resumed. On her way back she realized that she had lost her necklace. She quickly retraced her own footsteps, looking for the lost necklace. It took her a long time to find it. She had had very little sleep the previous day, and it is possible that she might have fallen asleep in her search for the necklace. At any rate, by the time she returned to her tent, she discovered that her servants had disappeared with the palanquin and that the whole company had vanished into the desert. Apparently thinking that 'A'ishah was inside for there was hardly any difference in its overall weight, the servants attached it to the camel's back and

proceeded unaware that the "Mother of the Believers" was left behind. 'A'ishah looked around herself, and though not finding anyone, she did not panic; for she believed that her people would soon discover her absence and would return to seek her. She judged that it would be better for her to stay where she was rather than to strike out in the desert on her own and risk getting lost. Unafraid, she wrapped herself in her mantle and laid down waiting for her people to discover her. While she waited, Safwān ibn al Mu'attal al Salami, who had been out of camp on an errand in the desert, returned to camp to find that he had missed his companions who were already on their way to Madinah. When he came close to 'A'ishah and discovered that she was indeed the wife of the Prophet (P.B.U.H), he stood back surprised and angry that she had been left behind. He asked her why she had been left behind and, receiving no reply, he brought her his camel and invited her to ride on it. 'A'ishah rode on the camel and Safwān rushed toward Madinah as fast as he could, hoping to join the Muslims before their entry into the city. The Muslims, however, were traveling at a very fast pace, purposely commanded by the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) in order to keep them exhausted and unable, as it were, to bring to a head the old hatreds between the various Muslim factions which 'Abdullah ibn Ubayy had been fomenting. Safwān arrived at Madinah in full daylight; 'A'ishah was riding on his camel. When he reached the Prophet's house (P.B.U.H), 'A'ishah dismounted and entered her home.

No one present ever entertained any suspicion of unusual behavior on anybody's part, and the Prophet himself (P.B.U.H) never suspected either the daughter of Abu Bakr, or Safwān, the loyal Muslim and pious believer, of the slightest misdemeanor.

Considering that 'A'ishah entered Madinah during the day and in front of everybody, and that her return was soon after the return of the Muslim forces, nobody could entertain any suspicion as to her behavior. She entered Madinah bearing her

usual pride and unperturbed by any feeling of guilt. The whole city went about its business as usual, and the Muslims occupied themselves with dividing the captives and booty which they had seized from the Banū al Mustaliq. Their life in Madinah was actually becoming more prosperous as their faith gave them more power over their enemies. Their faith had reinforced their wills and had encouraged them to think lightly of death, whether in the cause of Allah and of His religion, or in defense of religious freedom which they had earned after such a long and hard struggle against their own fellow tribesmen.

Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) Marriage to Juwayriyyah

Juwayriyyah, daughter of al Hārith, was one of the captives of the Banū al Mustaliq. She was a noble and attractive woman and her lot fell to a man of al Ansār. She sought to ransom herself but her captor, knowing that she was the daughter of the leader of the Banū al Mustaliq, demanded a very high price which he thought her people were capable of paying. Afraid of him and his ambition, Juwayriyyah sought the Prophet (P.B.U.H) in the house of 'A'ishah and, announcing her identity as the daughter of al Hārith ibn Abū Dirār, chief of the Banū al Mustaliq, she asked for the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) assistance in ransoming herself from captivity. After listening to her story, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) thought of a better fate for her. He suggested that he ransom and marry her as well. Juwayriyyah accepted his proposal. When the news reached the people, everyone who held a captive of the Banu al Mustaliq granted that particular captive his or her freedom in deference to the new status the new captives had acquired as the in-laws of the Prophet (P.B.U.H). 'A'ishah had said of her:

"I know of no woman who brought as much good to her people as Juwayriyyah."

Such is the story according to one version. Another version tells that al Hārith ibn Abu Dirār came to the Prophet (P.B.U.H). to ransom his daughter, and that after talking to the Prophet (P.B.U.H), he believed in him and declared his conversion. The same version tells that Juwayriyyah followed her father and was converted to Islam, whereupon the Prophet (P.B.U.H) asked for her hand and offered her a dowry of four hundred dirhams. A third version tells that her father was not agreeable to her marriage to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and that a relative of hers intervened and gave her to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) against the will of her father. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) did in fact marry Juwayriyyah and built for her a room adjoining his other quarters by the mosque. By this, Juwayriyyah became one of the "Mothers of the Believers." While still busy in the aftermath of the wedding, some people began to whisper about 'A'ishah's delayed return to the camp mounted on the camel of Safwān. Safwan was a young and handsome man. Zaynab, daughter of Jahsh, had a sister called Hamnah who knew too well that 'A'ishah was preferred by Muhammad (P.B.U.H) to her own sister. It was this Hamnah who began to broadcast gossip about 'A'ishah. In Hassan ibn Thabit she found a helper and in 'Ali ibn Abu Talib, an audience. 'Abdullah ibn Ubayy found her gossip of inestimable value in dividing the community and satisfying his hatred. He therefore spread the news in the market places. Al Aws tribesmen defended 'A'ishah' however, for they knew she was an example of nobility, chastity and purity. This story and the gossip to which it gave rise almost led to civil war.

'A'ishah's Illness

When the gossip finally reached the ear of Muhammad (P.B.U.H), he felt deeply hurt. He could not believe 'A'ishah would violate her marriage vows. Such indictment was

impossible. 'A'ishah was pride and purity personified. She enjoyed such fervent love and strong affection from her husband that the mere thought of accusing her was the greatest crime. Yes indeed! But then, woe to women! Who can ever understand them or reach with certainty to their inner core? 'A'ishah was still a child. For, how could she lose her necklace and then retrace her steps looking for it in the middle of the night? And why didn't she say anything about her loss when she came to the camp? These and other questions bothered the Prophet (P.B.U.H); he did not know what to believe and what not to believe.

As for 'A'ishah, nobody dared inform her of the people's gossip. She noticed that her husband was unusually laconic and unfriendly to her, a departure from his usual tenderness and preoccupation with her. She fell severely ill and was attended by her mother. But when Muhammad (P.B.U.H) visited her, he hardly said any more than, "How are you?" Indeed, noticing this coolness on the part of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) 'A'ishah asked whether or not Juwayriyyah had now taken her place in his heart. These strained relations being too much for her patience, she one day asked her husband's permission to move to her parent's quarters where her mother could take care of her. After permission was granted, she moved to her parent's house all the more alarmed at this new expression of unconcern. She remained bedridden for over twenty days, and no knowledge of the gossip spreading around her was ever brought to her notice. The people continued to gossip and annoyed the Prophet (P.B.U.H) so much that he found himself obliged to mention the matter in one of his speeches. "O Men," he said, "why are some of you staining the reputation of my family by accusing them falsely? By Allah, the members of my family have always been good. Why are you staining the reputation of one of my companions whom I know to be good and who has never entered my house except in my company?" Usayd ibn Hudayr rose and said, "O Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), if the false accusers are our own fellows of al

Aws tribe, we promise that we shall put a quick stop to them. But if they are of the tribe of al Khazraj, then command us and we shall obey. By Allah, to whichever tribe they belong, they are worthy of having their heads struck off." Sa'd ibn 'Ubadah commented on Usayd's proposition that the latter had made it because he knew too well that the false accusers belonged to al Khazraj tribe. A spirit of civil dispute and strife hovered over the whole community that took the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) wisdom and sound judgment to dissipate.

The Gossip and 'A'ishah

The gossip finally reached 'A'ishah through a woman of al Muhājirūn. When she learned of it she almost collapsed in alarm. She cried so hard that she felt as if she were falling apart. Despondent and dejected, she went to her mother and blamed her with broken voice. "May Allah forgive you, O Mother," she said. "People talk as they do and you do not inform me of it?" Realizing her anguished state, her mother sought to alleviate her pains and said, "O, my daughter, relax and take things lightly. Surely, hardly ever has a beautiful woman such as you, more loved by her husband than his other wives, not been slandered and gossiped about by those wives." 'A'ishah, however, was not consoled by this. It began to dawn upon her that the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) coolness and disaffection which had recently replaced his gentleness and affection must have been the result of this gossip and of the suspicion which it has caused. But what could she do now? Would she openly discuss the matter with him? Would he believe her if she swore to him that she was innocent? Or would she acquiesce in the false accusations and seek to offset them by her faith and pleading? Would she show him the same cold shoulder which he had shown her? But he is the

Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), and he has loved her more than any of his other wives. It is surely not his fault that the people have gossiped about her delay in returning to the camp and her return to Madinah with Safwān. Would to Allah that she could discover some way of convincing Muhammad (P.B.U.H) of the truth so that the real facts might be made clear once and for all and that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) would return to his old love and gentle treatment of her!

The Revolt of 'A'ishah

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was not in a better position. The gossip of the marketplace had hurt him so much that he was forced to consult on the matter with his personal friends. He proceeded to the house of Abu Bakr and there called 'Ali and Usāmah ibn Zayd to join him. Usāmah denied all that had been attributed to 'A'ishah as falsehood and lies. He claimed that the people had no more knowledge of any inclination to disloyalty on the part of 'A'ishah than he had. On the contrary, they knew as much about her loyalty and innocence. As for 'Ali, he answered, "O Prophet (P.B.U.H), women are many. Perhaps you might get some information out of the servant of 'A'ishah, loyal as we all know her to be to you." The servant was called in and 'Ali immediately seized her and struck her painfully and repeatedly as he commanded her to tell the truth to the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H). The servant, however, continued to deny all the gossip and assert that she knew nothing but good as far as 'A'ishah was concerned. Finally, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had no alternative but to put that question directly to his wife, asking that she confess and tell him the truth. He went into her room and, in the presence of her parents and another woman of al Ansär, he found her and that woman crying together. As he entered the room, 'A'ishah could see the suspicious look on his face and this cut most deeply into her heart. The man whom she loved and adored, the man in whom she believed and for whom she was prepared to lay down her life, loved her no more. On the contrary, he suspected her. As she composed herself, she listened to him say: "O 'A'ishah, you have heard what the people are saying about you. Fear Allah. If you have done an evil such as they say you did, repent to Allah for Allah accepts the repentence of His servants." No sooner had he finished than 'A'ishah sprang to her feet, her tears completely vanished, her blood rushing to her face. She glanced at her father and mother

hoping that they would speak out for her. But when they remained silent, her rebellious spirit could hold her tongue no longer. She shouted to the top of her voice addressing her parents: "Don't you answer? Won't you speak out?" Despondently, her parents replied that they had nothing to say. At that moment 'A'ishah broke out in tears, and this seemed to temper the fire of the storm raging within her. Her tears drying again, she turned suddenly to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and said: "By Allah, I will not repent to Allah because I do not have anything to repent for. If I were to agree with what the people are saying,Allah knows that I am innocent and that I would be admitting that which is not true. And yet if I persist in my denial, you do not seem to believe me." After a pause, she said:

"Rather, I shall say to myself as did the father of Joseph of his lying sons: 'Patience and more patience. Allah is my refuge against what you describe.'"

Revelation of 'A'ishah's Innocence

Silence reigned for a while; nobody could describe it as long or short. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had not moved from his spot when Revelation came to him accompanied by the usual convulsion. He was stretched out in his clothes and a pillow was placed under his head. 'A'ishah later reported, "Thinking that something ominous was about to happen, everyone in the room was frightened except me, for I did not fear a thing, knowing that I was innocent and that Allah would not be unjust to me. As for my parents, when the Prophet (P.B.U.H) recovered from his convulsion, they looked pale enough to die before the gossip was proven true." After Muhammad (P.B.U.H) recovered, he sat up and began to wipe his forehead where beads of perspiration had gathered. He said, "Glad tidings! O 'A'ishah, Allah has sent down proof of your innocence." 'A'ishah exclaimed, "May Allah

be praised." Immediately Muhammad (P.B.U.H) went to the mosque and there read to the Muslims the verses which had just been revealed to him.

﴿ إِنَّ ٱلَّذِينَ جَآءُو بِٱلْإِفْكِ عُصْبَةٌ مِّنكُمْ ۚ لَا تَحْسَبُوهُ شَرًّا لَّكُم ۖ بَلْ هُوَ خَيْرٌ لَّكُمْ ۚ لِكُلِّ ٱمْرِيٍٕ مِّنْهُم مَّا ٱكْتَسَبَ مِنَ ٱلْإِثْمِ ۚ وَٱلَّذِى تَوَلَّىٰ كِبْرَهُۥ مِنْهُمْ لَهُۥ عَذَابٌ عَظِيمٌ ﴿١١﴾ لَّوْلَآ إِذْ سَمِعْتُمُوهُ ظَنَّ ٱلْمُؤْمِنُونَ وَٱلْمُؤْمِنَٰتُ بِأَنفُسِهِمْ خَيْرًا وَقَالُوا۟ هَٰذَآ إِفْكٌ مُّبِينٌ ﴿١٢﴾ لَّوْلَا جَآءُو عَلَيْهِ بِأَرْبَعَةِ شُهَدَآءَ ۚ فَإِذْ لَمْ يَأْتُوا۟ بِٱلشُّهَدَآءِ فَأُو۟لَٰٓئِكَ عِندَ ٱللَّهِ هُمُ ٱلْكَٰذِبُونَ ﴿١٣﴾ وَلَوْلَا فَضْلُ ٱللَّهِ عَلَيْكُمْ وَرَحْمَتُهُۥ فِى ٱلدُّنْيَا وَٱلْءَاخِرَةِ لَمَسَّكُمْ فِى مَآ أَفَضْتُمْ فِيهِ عَذَابٌ عَظِيمٌ ﴿١٤﴾ إِذْ تَلَقَّوْنَهُۥ بِأَلْسِنَتِكُمْ وَتَقُولُونَ بِأَفْوَاهِكُم مَّا لَيْسَ لَكُم بِهِۦ عِلْمٌ وَتَحْسَبُونَهُۥ هَيِّنًا وَهُوَ عِندَ ٱللَّهِ عَظِيمٌ ﴿١٥﴾ وَلَوْلَآ إِذْ سَمِعْتُمُوهُ قُلْتُم مَّا يَكُونُ لَنَآ أَن نَّتَكَلَّمَ بِهَٰذَا سُبْحَٰنَكَ هَٰذَا بُهْتَٰنٌ عَظِيمٌ ﴿١٦﴾ يَعِظُكُمُ ٱللَّهُ أَن تَعُودُوا۟ لِمِثْلِهِۦٓ أَبَدًا إِن كُنتُم مُّؤْمِنِينَ ﴿١٧﴾ وَيُبَيِّنُ ٱللَّهُ لَكُمُ ٱلْءَايَٰتِ ۚ وَٱللَّهُ عَلِيمٌ حَكِيمٌ ﴿١٨﴾ إِنَّ ٱلَّذِينَ يُحِبُّونَ أَن تَشِيعَ ٱلْفَٰحِشَةُ فِى ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا۟ لَهُمْ عَذَابٌ أَلِيمٌ فِى ٱلدُّنْيَا وَٱلْءَاخِرَةِ ۚ وَٱللَّهُ يَعْلَمُ وَأَنتُمْ لَا تَعْلَمُونَ ﴿١٩﴾ ﴾

Those who brought forward the lie are a body among yourselves: think it not to be an evil to you; on the contrary it is good for you: to every man among them (will come the punishment) of the sin that he earned, and to him who took on himself the lead among them, will be a Chastisement grievous. Why did not the Believers - men and women - when you heard of the affair, thought well of their people and say, "This (charge) is an obvious lie? Why did they not bring four witnesses to prove it? When they have not brought the witnesses, such men, in the sight of Allah (stand forth) themselves as liars Were it not for the grace and mercy of Allah on you, in this world and the Hereafter, a grievous Chastisement would have seized you in that you rushed glibly into this affair. Behold, you received it on your tongues, and said out of your mouths things of which you had no knowledge; and you thought it to be a light matter, while it was most serious in the sight of Allah.

And why did you not when you heard it, say "It is not right of us to speak of this: glory to You (our Lord) this is a most serious slander!" Allah admonish you, that you may never repeat such (conduct), if you are (true) Believers. And Allah makes the Signs plain to you: for Allah is full of knowledge and wisdom. Those who love (to see) scandal circulate among the Believers, will have a grievous Chastisement in this life and in the Hereafter: Allah knows, and ye know not.) (An-Nur :11-19)

It was on this occasion that the punishment for false accusation of adultery was promulgated through the revelation of the following verse

﴿ وَٱلَّذِينَ يَرْمُونَ ٱلْمُحْصَنَٰتِ ثُمَّ لَمْ يَأْتُوا۟ بِأَرْبَعَةِ شُهَدَآءَ فَٱجْلِدُوهُمْ ثَمَٰنِينَ جَلْدَةً وَلَا تَقْبَلُوا۟ لَهُمْ شَهَٰدَةً أَبَدًا ۚ وَأُو۟لَٰٓئِكَ هُمُ ٱلْفَٰسِقُونَ ۝ ﴾ سورة النور آية ٤

(And those who launch a charge against chaste women, and produce not four witnesses, (to support their allegations), flog them with eighty stripes; and reject their evidence ever after: for such men are wicked transgressors;) (An-Nur :4)

In pursuit of this Qur'ānic injunction, Mistah ibn Athathah, Hassān ibn Thabit, and Hamnah, daughter of Jahsh, who had spread the false accusation of 'A'ishah in the marketplace were flogged eighty stripes each, and 'A'ishah returned to her rightful place in the house as well as in the heart of Muhammad (P.B.U.H).

Commenting on this event in the life of the Prophet (P.B.U.H), Sir William Muir concluded: "The whole career and life of 'A'ishah before that event as well as after it furnishes unquestionable evidence that she was sincere and innocent. There should therefore be no hesitancy in rejecting every report of misconduct imputed to her." Despite his grave misdemeanor, Hassān ibn Thābit repented, made amends with Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and was able to win back the latter's friendship. On the other hand, Muhammad himself (P.B.U.H) asked Abū Bakr not to deny Mistah ibn Athāthah the kindness which he used to extend to him. Henceforth, the whole event was forgotten in Madinah. 'A'ishah's health improved rapidly, and, after returning to her quarters in the Prophet's residence (P.B.U.H), she recaptured her favorite position with him and with all the

Muslims. Thus, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) was able to devote all his energies to his message, to the administration of policy, and to preparing himself for the events leading to the Treaty of Hudaybiyah that would bring to the Muslims new and certain Victories.

20

The Treaty of Hudaybiyah

Six years had passed since the emigration of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and his companions from Makkah to Madinah. During that time, they were constantly occupied with war and conflict, now with the Quraysh, now with the Jews. All along, Islam was gaining converts as well as power. From the first year of the Hijrah, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) changed his orientation in prayer from al Aqsa Mosque to the Mosque of Makkah. The Muslims turned toward the house of Allah which Ibrahim had built in Makkah and which was renewed and reconstructed during Muhammad's youth (P.B.U.H). The reader will remember that it was Muhammad (P.B.U.H) who lifted and placed the Black Stone in its position in the wall of that house, long before he could have ever thought that he was to become the recipient of a Revelation from Allah on High.

Proscription of the Sanctuary to Muslim Entry

For hundreds of years, this Mosque had been the center toward which the Arabs turned in their worship and to which they went in pilgrimage during the holy month of every year. Everybody entering the area of the Mosque was to be safe and

secure. The most hostile enemies met on its grounds without anyone ever drawing his sword or shedding the blood of his enemy. Ever since Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had emigrated with the Muslims to Madinah, the Quraysh resolved to prevent them from entering the Mosque. This prohibition applied only to the Muslims among all the Arabs of the Peninsula. To this effect, Allah said in the Qur'ānic verses revealed during the first year of the Hijrah:

﴿ يَسْـَٔلُونَكَ عَنِ ٱلشَّهْرِ ٱلْحَرَامِ قِتَالٍ فِيهِ ۖ قُلْ قِتَالٌ فِيهِ كَبِيرٌ ۖ وَصَدٌّ عَن سَبِيلِ ٱللَّهِ وَكُفْرٌۢ بِهِۦ وَٱلْمَسْجِدِ ٱلْحَرَامِ وَإِخْرَاجُ أَهْلِهِۦ مِنْهُ أَكْبَرُ عِندَ ٱللَّهِ ﴿٢١٧﴾ ﴾ سورة البقرة آية ٢١٧

(They ask you concerning fighting in the Prohibited Month. Say: "Fighting therein is a grave (offence); but graver is it in the sight of Allah to prevent access to the path of Allah, to deny Him, to prevent access to the Sacred Mosque, and drive out its members) (Al- Baqarah: 217)

Likewise, the following verse was revealed after the Battle of Badr:

﴿ وَمَا لَهُمْ أَلَّا يُعَذِّبَهُمُ ٱللَّهُ وَهُمْ يَصُدُّونَ عَنِ ٱلْمَسْجِدِ ٱلْحَرَامِ وَمَا كَانُوٓا۟ أَوْلِيَآءَهُۥٓ ۚ إِنْ أَوْلِيَآؤُهُۥٓ إِلَّا ٱلْمُتَّقُونَ وَلَـٰكِنَّ أَكْثَرَهُمْ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ ﴿٣٤﴾ وَمَا كَانَ صَلَاتُهُمْ عِندَ ٱلْبَيْتِ إِلَّا مُكَآءً

وَتَصۡدِيَةٗۚ فَذُوقُواْ ٱلۡعَذَابَ بِمَا كُنتُمۡ تَكۡفُرُونَ ۝٣٥ إِنَّ ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُواْ يُنفِقُونَ أَمۡوَٰلَهُمۡ لِيَصُدُّواْ عَن سَبِيلِ ٱللَّهِۚ فَسَيُنفِقُونَهَا ثُمَّ تَكُونُ عَلَيۡهِمۡ حَسۡرَةٗ ثُمَّ يُغۡلَبُونَۗ وَٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوٓاْ إِلَىٰ جَهَنَّمَ يُحۡشَرُونَ ۝٣٦﴾

سورة الأنفال الآيات ٣٤- ٣٦

(But what plea have they that Allah should not punish them, when they keep out (men) from the Sacred Mosque, and they are not its guardians? No men can be its guardians except the righteous; but most of them do not understand. Their prayer at the House (of Allah) is nothing but whistling and clapping of hands: (its only answer can be), "Taste the Chastisement because you blasphemed." The Unbelievers spend their wealth to hinder (men) from the path of Allah, and so will they continue to spend; but in the end they will have (only) regrets and sighs; at length they will be overcome: and the Unbelievers will be gathered together to Hell.) (Al-Anfal: 34-36)

During these six years many other verses were revealed centering on the Mosque of Makkah which Allah had declared to be a place of repentance and of security for mankind. But the Quraysh never saw in Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions who turned their backs on the idols of that house—namely, Hubal, Isāf, Na'ilah and the others—anything but men who ought to be fought and combatted and denied the privilege of pilgrimage to the Ka'bah until they repented and returned to the gods of their ancestors.

Muslim Yearning for Makkah

During the whole time the Muslims were kept from fulfilling their religious duty, they suffered deeply. The Muhājirun especially felt this privation more strongly as it was combined with banishment from their own hometown and people. All the Muslims, however, were convinced that Allah would soon give victory to His Prophet (P.B..U.H) and to them and would raise Islam high above all other religions. They firmly believed that the day would soon come when Allah would unlock for them the gates of Makkah that they might perform their pilgrimage to the ancient house and thus fulfill the duty which Allah had imposed upon all men. If so far the years had passed one after another with frequent campaigns and battles, beginning with Badr, Uhud, the Ditch and others, so too the day of victory which they believed to be necessary must soon come. How strong was their longing for this day! And how intensely did Muhammad himself (P.B.U.H) share their very faith in the proximity of that day of victory!

The Arabs and the Ka'bah

The truth is that the Quraysh had done a great injustice to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions by forbidding them to visit the Ka'bah and to perform the duties of pilgrimage and ***'umrah.*** The ancient sanctuary of Makkah was not a property of the Quraysh but of all the Arabs together. The Quraysh enjoyed only the services attached to the Ka'bah such as the ***sidanah, siqāyah,*** and other functions pertinent to the sanctuary or to the care for its visitors. The fact that one tribe worshiped one idol rather than another never permitted the Quraysh to forbid any tribe from visiting the Ka'bah, from circumambulating it, or from filling any religious duties or acts of worship demanded by

the tribe's loyalty to that god. If Muhammad (P.B.U.H) came to call men to repudiate idol worship, to purify themselves from paganism and associationism, to raise themselves to the worship of Allah alone, devoid of associates, to conduct themselves for the sake of Allah in a manner free of all moral flaws, to elevate their spirit to consciousness of the unity of being and the unity of Allah, and if the new faith imposed on its adherents the duty of pilgrimage and ***'umrah*** to the sanctuary of Makkah, it would be sheer aggression and injustice to prevent the followers of that faith from fulfilling their religious duty. The Quraysh, however, feared that were Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his Makkan companions to visit Makkah, they might persuade the majority to follow them, especially since they were related to the Makkans with bonds of blood and family and had been separated from them long enough to arouse in them the strongest longing. Such a development would start a civil war in Makkah which the Quraysh wanted to avoid. Moreover, Makkan leaders and noblemen had not forgotten that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions had destroyed their faith, cut off their trade route to al Sham, and antagonized them so deeply that no common loyalty to the sanctuary and no common feeling that it belonged to Allah and to all the Arabs could compose their differences. The Quraysh could not be convinced that their relationship to the house was merely one of taking care of it and of its visitors.

The Muslims and the Ka'bah

Six whole years had passed since the Hijrah, during which the Muslims longed to visit the Ka'bah and perform the pilgrimage and ***'umrah.*** One day, while they congregated in the mosque in the morning, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) informed them of a vision he had seen that they should enter the holy sanctuary of Makkah secure, shaven, and unarmed, and without fear for their

safety. As soon as the Muslims heard of the news, they praised Allah for His grace and spread the tidings all over Madinah. No one, however, could imagine how this was going to be accomplished. Would they fight and enter Malckah after battle? Would they force the evacuation of Quraysh and pull down its guardianship of the Ka'bah? Or would Quraysh open the road to them in humiliation and acquiescence?

Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) Proclamation Concerning Pilgrimage

No! There was to be neither war nor fighting. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) proclaimed to the people that pilgrimage to Makkah would take place in the holy month of Dhu al Qi'dah. He had sent his messengers to the tribes, whether Muslim or otherwise, inviting them to participate with the Muslims in a visit to the sanctuary of Allah in security and peace. Apparently, he sought to make the group performing the pilgrimage the largest possible. His objective was to let the whole Peninsula know that this expedition of his during the holy month was intended purely for pilgrimage and not for conquest, as well as to proclaim the fact that Islam had imposed pilgrimage to Makkah just as pre-Islamic Arab religion had done and, finally, that he had actually invited even the Arabs who were not Muslims to join in the performance of this sacred duty. If, despite all this, the Quraysh insisted on fighting him during the holy month and preventing him from the performance of a duty commonly held by all Arabs regardless of their personal faith, the Quraysh would surely find themselves isolated and condemned by all. In that eventuality, the Quraysh would find the Arabs unwilling to help them in fighting the Muslims. In the eyes of all the tribes, the Quraysh would have indicted themselves. They would have to appear as stopping men from visiting the sanctuary, as combating the

religion of Isma'il and of his father, Ibrahim. By this means, the Muslims would guarantee that the Arab tribes would not rally against them under Makkan leadership as they did hitherto in the campaign of the Ditch, and their religion would itself gain some credit among the tribes who had not yet been converted to it. What would the Quraysh say to a people who came to their doors armless except for their undrawn swords, and in a state of ritualistic purity, accompanied by the cattle which they planned to sacrifice near the Ka'bah and whose every care was simply to circumambulate the House, the duty common to all the tribes of the Peninsula?.

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) publicly proclaimed that the pilgrimage had started and asked the tribes, including the non-Muslim, to accompany him on that holy mission. Some of the tribes rejected his invitation and others accepted. His procession set forth on the first of Dhu al Qi'dah, one of the holy months; and it included al Muhājirun, al Ansār, and a number of other tribes. He led the procession riding on his she-camel, al Qaswa'. Their total number was about one thousand four hundred men. They took with them seventy camels and donned the garb demanded by the ritual of ***'urmrah*** that the people might know that this was no military campaign but a pilgrimage to the holy sanctuary and a fulfillment of religious duty. When he reached Dhu al Hulayfah, the pilgrims shaved their heads, purified themselves as the ritual demanded, and isolated their sacrificial cattle by placing them to their left. The sacrificial cattle included the camels of Abū Jahl which were seized in the Battle of Badr. No man in the whole group carried any arms except the undrawn sword usually worn by all travelers. Umm Salamah, the wife of the Prophet (P.B.U.H), accompanied him on this trip.

Quraysh and Muslim Pilgrimage

When the Quraysh learned that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and

his companions were approaching Makkah for purposes of pilgrimage, they were filled with fear and pondered whether or not Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was now playing a war game against them in order to enter Makkah after they and their allies had failed to enter Madinah. Their fear was not dissipated when they learned that the pilgrims had actually donned the ritual garb demanded by ***'urmrah,*** nor by Muslim proclamation across the Peninsula that they were coming solely to fulfill a religious duty approved and accepted by all the Arabs. None of this prevented them from resolving to stop Muhammad (P.B.U.H) from entering Makkah at whatever cost. Quickly, they mobilized an army, including a cavalry force of two hundred. They gave the command . to Khālid ibn al Walid and 'Ikrimah ibn Abū Jahl. This army advanced to Dhū Tuwa and took up position to prevent the Muslims' religious march to Makkah.

Encounter

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and the Muslims continued their march. At 'Usfān, they met a tribesman of Banā Ka'b whom the Prophet (P.B.U.H) questioned regarding the Quraysh. 'the man answered: "They heard about your march; so they marched too. But they wore their tiger skins, their traditional war apparel, pledging that they will never let you enter Makkah. Their general, Khālid ibn al Walid, set up camp for his cavalry at Karā' al Ghamim." Upon learning this, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) said: "Woe to Quraysh! Their hostility is undoing them. Why should they object to letting me settle this affair with all the tribes without intervention? If the Arab tribes destroy me, that will be the realization of their objective. If, on the other hand, Allah gives me victory, then they can enter into Islam with dignity; and if they resist, they can then fight with good cause. What does the Quraysh think? By Allah, I shall continue to serve

that for which Allah has commissioned me until the divine message has become supreme or I lose my neck in the process." Pondering over the issue, he thought that, whereas he did not come thither as a conquerer but as a Muslim pilgrim seeking the sanctuary as a religious duty, he might be compelled to fight and perhaps lose unless he should take the precaution of arming his people. Should he lose in such an engagement, the Quraysh would parade their victory throughout the Peninsula and thus deal a tragic blow to the Muslim position. Indeed, it is perhaps for that reason that the Quraysh delegated the command of their army to Khālid ibn al Walid and 'Ikrimah, their most illustrious generals, that they might attain this very objective, knowing that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was not prepared to fight on this occasion.

Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) Caution to Safeguard the Peace

While Muhammad (P.B.U.H) pondered these issues, Makkan cavalry was looming on the horizon. The presence of the enemy prepared for war showed the Muslims that it was impossible for them to reach their objective without going through these lines and engaging in a battle in which the Quraysh had come prepared to repulse the threat to their dignity, honor, and homeland. Such would have been a battle undesired and uncalled for by Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and forced upon him. The Muslims were not afraid of battle. With the high morale they enjoyed, their swords alone would be sufficient to stop this new aggression of the Makkans. But if they did fight the Makkans, the peaceful purpose of the whole affair would not be realized. On the contrary, the Quraysh would use such fighting, as proof of Muhammad's guilt (P.B.U.H) before the tribes. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was too farsighted to allow such a course to be followed. He therefore asked his party to find someone who could show them a road to Makkah other than the main one

which was blocked by the Quraysh. Apparently, he was still of the same mind as before he started out from Madinah. A man was found to lead the procession by a different route which was yet more desolate and full of hardships. That road led them to a valley at the end of which a turn by al Murār brought them to the locality of al Hudaybiyah, south of Makkah. When the Quraysh discovered the movement of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions, they returned quickly to Makkah in order to defend it against what they thought to be a Muslim invasion from the south. Upon arrival at the plain of al Hudaybiyah, al Qaswa', she-camel of the Prophet (P.B.U.H), stopped. The Muslims thought the she-camel was exhausted; but the Prophet (P.B.U.H) explained that it was stopped by the same power which stopped the elephant from entering Makkah. He continued, "If only the Quraysh would ask us for guarantees of Muslim intentions based upon our blood relationship to them, we should be happy to give them the same." He then called upon the Muslims to encamp. When they complained that the place was waterless, he sent a man with a stick to one of the wells of the area and asked him to verify the existence of water. When the man plunged his stick into the bottom of the well, water sprang up; the people felt reassured, and they put up camp.

Qurayha's Delegates to the Muslims

The Muslims encamped and the Quraysh observed their moves. The Makkans had resolved to prevent the Muslims by force from entering their city. To them, this was a clear and final commitment. The Muslims, on the other hand, did not know whether or not they were heading for an all-out war with the Quraysh which would decide the matter between them once and for all Undoubtedly, some people on both sides preferred a settlement by the sword. The Muslims who approved of this

course thought their victory would bring about a final destruction of the Quraysh. The Quraysh's reputation throughout the Peninsula as well as their ***siddnah*** and ***siqayah*** functions in pilgrimage—indeed, their pride and religious distinction—would be eliminated. The two camps were poised seeking an answer. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) did not change his original plan to perform the ***'umrah*** in peace and to avoid war unless attacked. In case of attack, there would be no escape from recourse to the sword. As for the Quraysh, while hesitant, they decided to send some delegates to the Muslim camp, partly to reconnoiter Muslim strength and partly to dissuade Muhammad (P.B.U.H) from executing his plan. For this purpose, Budayl ibn Warqā' arrived at the Muslim camp, together with some tribesmen from Khuza'ah. Inquiry into Muhammad's objectives (P.B.U.H) convinced them that he did not come to fight but to honor the sanctuary and pay to it the homage due. The delegation returned to the Quraysh and counseled that the Muslims be permitted to fulfill their religious wish. The Quraysh, however, remained unconvinced. Indeed, they accused their own delegates of conniving with Muhammad (P.B.U.H). They argued that even' though Muhammad (P.B.U.H) might not have come to make war, he should not be allowed to enter Makkah against their will and with such preponderant numbers. Otherwise, the Quraysh would become the mockery of Arabia. In order to make sure that their first delegates told them the truth, the Quraysh sent another delegation which returned with exactly the same reports, which the Quraysh now believed. The Quraysh were depending for their war against Muhammad (P.B.U.H) upon their Ahābish allies. They thought of sending the Ahābish leader to talk to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) with the hope that the two leaders would misunderstand each other and the Quraysh ally would become increasingly committed to fight on Makkah's side against Muhammad (P.B.U.H). Al Hulays, as the leader of the Ahabish was called, went to the Muslim camp to see for himself. When the

Prophet (P.B.U.H) saw him arriving, he ordered the sacrificial cattle paraded in front of him as material proof of Muslim intention to perform the pilgrimage and to honor the sanctuary. Al Hulays saw the seventy sacrificial camels shaved and readied for sacrifice and was moved by the view of this display of Arab religiosity. He soon became convinced that the Quraysh were doing an injustice to those people who had come neither for war nor for hostility. Without bothering to meet Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and converse with him, he returned to Makkah and told the Quraysh of his opinion. Full of resentment, the Quraysh slighted al Hulays as a bedouin and neglected his advice as that of one uninstructed. Al Hulays was naturally angered, and he threatened them that he had not allied himself with them in order to stop pilgrims from performing their religious duties. He even threatened that unless they allowed Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his party into the sanctuary, he would remove himself and his tribe from Makkah. The Quraysh feared the consequences of such a move and begged him to give them time to reconsider.

The Delegation of 'Urwah ibn Mas'ud al Thaqafi

The Quraysh then thought of sending somebody whom they could trust and whose judgment stood beyond suspicion. They approached 'Urwah ibn Mas'ud al Thaqafi and apologized to him for having slighted the delegate whom they had sent before him to negotiate with Muhammad (P.B.U.H). When they assured him of their respect and pledged their compliance with his advice, he agreed to meet with Muhammad (P.B.U.H). He proposed to the latter that since Makkah was his own hometown whose honor it was his duty to safeguard, it would be opprobrious for him to prefer the commonplace people he brought with him to the noblemen of Quraysh who were none other than his own people. 'Urwah stressed the point that such

opprobrium would attach to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) as well as to the Quraysh even though the two had been at war with each other. On hearing this, Abu Bakr objected loudly to 'Urwah's request that the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) separate himself from the people. While talking to Muhammad (P.B.U.H), 'Urwah touched Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) beard in supplication, and al Mughirah ibn Shu'bah, standing on the side of the Prophet (P.B.U.H), struck the hand of 'Urwah every time it was stretched toward Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) beard despite the fact that 'Urwah had ransomed al Mughirah by paying the bloodwit of the thirteen men whom all Mughirah had killed prior to his conversion to Islam. Accordingly, 'Urwah returned to Makkah after convincing himself that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had not come to wage war but to honor the holy sanctuary in fulfillment of a divine imperative. Upon return to the Quraysh, he said to them: "O Men of Quraysh, I have visited Chosroes, Caesar, and the Negus in their respective courts. By Allah, I have never seen a king attaching himself to his people as Muhammad (P.B.U.H) does. His companions love him and honor him and revere him so much that they carefully lift every hair that falls off his body, and they save the water with which he performs his ablutions. They will never allow any hand to fall on . him. Judge then accordingly."

Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) Delegation to Quraysh

In this way, negotiations between Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and the Quraysh lasted a long time. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) wondered whether or not the delegates of Quraysh had enough courage and initiative to convince the Quraysh with the facts which they had noted. He therefore sent a delegate from his own camp to inform the Quraysh of the Muslim view. The Makkans slew the camel of Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) delegate and were about to kill him when the Ahābish intervened and let him go free. This conduct

of the Makkans only confirmed their hostile spirit and, consequently, the Muslims began to lose patience and think of fighting their way through. While still considering what to do, some plebeians from Makkah went out under the cover of night to throw stones at the tents of the Muslims. The latter sent out forty or fifty men who encircled the attackers, captured them and brought them to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) for judgment. To the surprise of everyone, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) forgave the attackers and allowed them to go free in accordance with his general plan for peace and in deference to the holy month in which no blood was to be shed in al Uudaybiyah, an area falling within the holy ground of Makkah. The Quraysh for their part were stupefied by this conduct of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and lost every argument they had that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) wanted war. It had become absolutely certain that any attack on the part of the Quraysh against Muhammad (P.B.U.H) would be regarded by all Arabs as a sneaking, treacherous act of aggression which Muhammad (P.B.U.H) would be perfectly entitled to repel with all power at his disposal.

The Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) tested the patience of the Quraysh once more by sending a delegate from his camp to negotiate with them. He called 'Umar ibn al Khattāb for the job of conveying his message to the noblemen of Quraysh. 'Umar, however, pleaded with the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) that since none of his people, the Banu 'Adiyy ibn Ka'b, were left in Quraysh, he would be unprotected prey for them to pource upon in revenge for his many offenses against them. He counselled the Prophet (P.B.U.H) to send another man, 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān who was far more protected among the Quraysh than he. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) called 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, his son-in-law, and sent him to Abū Sufyān and the noblemen of Quraysh. 'Uthmān proceeded to Makkah, and on its outskirts was met by Aban ibn Sa'id who extended to him his protection for the duration of time that it would take him to convey his message.

'Uthmān approached the noblemen of Quraysh and handed over the Prophet's message (P.B.U.H). They suggested to him that he might circumambulate the sanctuary if he wished. But he declined, saying, "I shall never do so until the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) had done so himself." He continued to insist that the Muslims had come to Makkah simply in order to visit the holy shrine and to glorify it and to perform the religious duty of pilgrimage. He pointed out that the Muslims had brought with them their sacrificial animals and pleaded that if they were allowed to sacrifice them, they would return in peace. The Quraysh pleaded that they had already sworn defiantly that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) would not be allowed to enter Makkah this year. The negotiations lasted a long time during which 'Uthman was forced to stay in Makkah. Soon the Muslims began to suspect that he had been treacherously put to death. Perhaps during this time the noblemen of Quraysh were busy conversing with 'Uthman in an attempt to find a common form in which their pledge not to allow Muhammad (P.B.U.H) to enter Makkah this year, and the Muslim's desire to visit the Holy House and to fulfill their religious duty, could be composed. Perhaps, too, they appreciated 'Uthmān's frankness and sincerity and were seriously engaged in discussing with him how best to reorganize the relations with Muhammad (P.B.U.H) in the future.

The Covenant of al Ridwān

Whatever the reason, 'Uthman's failure to return quickly caused the Muslims at Hudaybiyah no little anxiety. They began to give vent to their imagination by picturing the Quraysh treacherously attacking them in the holy month despite the sanctity of the occasion and of the purpose for which they came. They feared that the Quraysh would violate the religious conscience of all Arabia with impudence, even within the holy

sanctuary or on the holy grounds of Makkah. With tension rising in the Muslim camp, and everybody reaching for his sword, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) assured them that he would not allow them to return without challenging their enemies. He called his companions to him under a large tree in the middle of that valley, and there they covenanted with him to fight to the last man. Their faith was certain, their conviction was strong, and their will was determined to avenge the blood of 'Uthman whom they thought the Quraysh had murdered in Makkah. This covenant was called the Covenant of al Ridwān; and in its regard, the following verse was revealed:

﴿ ۞ لَّقَدْ رَضِيَ ٱللَّهُ عَنِ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ إِذْ يُبَايِعُونَكَ تَحْتَ ٱلشَّجَرَةِ فَعَلِمَ مَا فِى قُلُوبِهِمْ فَأَنزَلَ ٱلسَّكِينَةَ عَلَيْهِمْ وَأَثَٰبَهُمْ فَتْحًا قَرِيبًا ﴿١٨﴾ ﴾

سورة الفتح آية ١٨

(Allah's Good Pleasure was on the Believers when they swore Fealty to you under the Tree: He knew what was in their hearts, and He sent down Tranquillity to them; and He rewarded them with a speedy Victory) (Al-Fath: 18)

When the Muslims concluded their covenant, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) pledged the same covenant on behalf of 'Uthman, and the latter was regarded as if he were present. Thereupon, swords shook in their scabbards and the Muslims realized that war was now inevitable. Everybody looked forward to the day of victory or martyrdom with a mind convinced and satisfied, and a heart reassured and at peace. While in this state, the news reached them that 'Uthman had not been murdered, and soon the man himself returned safe and sound. The Covenant of al Ridwān, however, like the great Covenant of al 'Aqabah, remained a great landmark in Muslim history. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was particularly pleased with this covenant for the evidence it

furnished of the strength of the bonds which tied him and his companions together, and for the readiness of the Muslims to face the greatest dangers without fear. For whoever is willing to face death will find that death itself shies away from him, life itself surrenders to him, and victory is always his own to reach.

The Quraysh's Response

Upon return, 'Uthmān conveyed to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) the message of the Quraysh. They entertained no more doubt that the Muslims had come to Makkah for anything but the religious purpose of pilgrimage to the Holy house, and they realized that they had no right to prevent any Arab from performing his pilgrimage or ***'umrah*** during the holy month. Nonetheless, they had mobilized their army under the leadership of Khalid ibn al Walid to prevent Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions from entering Makkah, and some skirmishes had taken place between the two parties. After all this had happened, to Jet Muhammad (P.B.U.H) enter Makkah would allow the tribes to conclude that the Quraysh had been defeated and, as a result, their position in the Peninsula would suffer greatly. Therefore, the Quraysh argued, they must insist on maintaining this decision of theirs in order to preserve their reputation and prestige. They invited Muhammad (P.B.U.H) to think out with them both his and their position that together they might find an outlet from this difficulty. By themselves they saw no escape from a war which they would have to wage whether they wanted to or not. Rather, they wished they might not have to fight during the holy months because of their religious sanctity and out of fear that should those months be violated, then the tribes would never feel secure that they would not be violated again in the future. The result of a present conflict would be that the security of passage to Makkah and to its market, of the religious rites and of the prosperity of the Makkans and Arabs alike would all go aground.

Negotiations

Another round of negotiations between the two parties followed. The Quraysh sent Suhayl ibn 'Amr to reconcile Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and to ask him to return for the same purpose the following year. They argued that in such an arrangement the tribes would not claim that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had entered Makkah in defiance of the Quraysh. Suhayl began his negotiations with the Prophet (P.B.U.H), and these lasted a long time during which they were interrupted and resumed again by both parties, anxious as they were for the negotiations to succeed. In the Muslim camp the Muslims listened in on these negotiations and often lost patience at their involvement and length, the obstinacy with which Suhayl refused to make any concessions, and the leniency with which the Prophet (P.B.U.H) made his. Were it not for the absolute confidence the Muslims had in their Prophet, they would have never accepted the terms reached by those negotiations. They would have fought with the Makkans and either entered Makkah victorious or perished in the process. Even such a great man as 'Umar ibn al Khattāb lost patience and said to Abu Bakr, "O Abū Bakr, isn't Muhammad the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) and aren't we Muslims?" Abu Bakr answered in the affirmative. 'Umar then said, "Why then should we give in to the unbelievers in a matter vital to our faith?" Abu Bakr replied, "O 'Umar, do not trespass one inch where you ought not to go. Remember that I witness that our leader is the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H)." Angrily, 'Umar acquiesced by replying: "I, too, witness that our leader is the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H)."

Conclusion of the Treaty (March, 628 C.E.)

'Umar turned to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and complained to him with the same anger and resentment, but could not alter the

Prophet's (P.B.U.H) determination and patience. Their talk was concluded with the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) statement that he was the servant of Allah and His Prophet (P.B.U.H) and that he would not deviate from the divine commandment nor entertain any doubt of divine support. So patient was Muhammad (P.B.U.H) in these negotiations that many Muslims remembered anecdotes which speak most eloquently to this effect. It is reported, for instance, that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) called 'Ali ibn Abū Talib and said to him: "Write, 'In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.'" Suhayl, the non-Muslim delegate of Quraysh interrupted. "Stop," he said, "I do not know either 'the Merciful' or 'the Compassionate.' Write, 'In your name, O Allah.'" The Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) instructed 'All to write accordingly and continued: "Write, 'Following is the text of a pact reached by Muhammad, the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) and Suhayl ibn 'Amr.'" Suhayl again interrupted. "Stop it. If I accepted you as a Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) I would not have been hostile to you. You should write only your name and the name of your father." The Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) instructed 'Ali to write accordingly, referring to himself as Muhammad ibn 'Abdullah. The text of the treaty was redacted and agreed upon. In the opinion of most biographers, the treaty specified that the peace was to last for ten years. According to al Waqidi, the peace was stipulated for only two years. The pact also specified that any person from Quraysh emigrating to Muhammad's camp (P.B.U.H) without permission from his guardian would have to be returned to Makkah, whereas any Muslim emigrating from Muhammad's camp (P.B.U.H) to Makkah would not have to be returned. It also specified that any tribe was free to ally itself to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) without incurring any guilt or censure from Quraysh, and likewise, any tribe seeking an alliance with Quraysh could do so without let or hindrance from the Muslims. The pact stipulated that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions would leave the area of Makkah that year without

fulfilling their religious function but that they might return the next year, enter the city and stay therein three days for this purpose while carrying no more than swords in their scabbards.

Promulgation of the Treaty

As soon as this pact was solemnly concluded by the parties concerned, the tribe of Khuzā'ah entered into an alliance with Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and that of Banū Bakr with Quraysh. Soon after, Abu Jandal ibn Suhayl ibn 'Amr left Makkah forever and came to the Muslim camp seeking to join the Muslims. When Suhayl, the delegate of Quraysh to the Muslim camp, saw his son change loyalties in his presence, he struck him in the face and pulled him by the hair to return to the Quraysh. Abu Jandal was calling upon the Muslims to save him from the fate of being returned to the unbelievers who would persecute him for his faith. This greatly increased the Muslims' resentment and their dissatisfaction with the pact the Prophet (P.B.U.H) had just concluded with Suhayl. But Muhammad (P.B.U.H) spoke to Abū Jandal. "O Abū Jandal," he said, "have patience and be disciplined; for Allah will soon provide for you and your other persecuted colleagues a way out of your suffering. We have entered with the Quraysh into a treaty of peace and we have exchanged with them a solemn pledge that none will cheat the other." Abū Jandal returned to Quraysh in compliance with the demand of this treaty and Suhayl returned to Makkah. Muhammad (P.B.U.H), too, was disconcerted with the resentment and dissatisfaction of the Muslims around him. After reciting his prayers he felt reassured, sought his sacrificial animal, and slaughtered it. Then, he sat down and shaved his head, thus declaring the ***'umrah,*** or lesser pilgrimage, complete. His soul was satisfied and his heart full of contentment, as if the peace of Allah had come upon him. When the people saw what he did and

observed the peace of soul shining through his face, they began to slaughter their animals and to shave off their hair. Some of them shaved off their hair completely and others only in part. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) said, "Allah Bless those who shaved their heads." The people asked him about those who only cut their hair short, and Muhammad (P.B.U.H) repeated his blessing for the benefit of those who ***shaved*** their heads. After the people asked him three times and he repeated the same blessing three times, he was asked: "Why, O Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), do you exclude those who cut off their hair short from your blessing?" He answered, "Because the shavers did not doubt, whereas the others did."

The Treaty of Hudaybiyah: A Genuine Victory

Nothing remained for the Muslims to do except to return to Madinah and there await the arrival of the coming season for another trip to Makkah. Most of them accepted this idea grudgingly, and consoled themselves purely On the grounds that the unwelcome compliance therewith was only the command of the Prophet himself (P.B.U.H). They were not accustomed to acquiesce in a defeat or to surrender without a fight. Moreover, in their faith in Allah and in the timely assistance that Allah would grant to His Prophet (P.B.U.H), his religion and themselves, they could entertain no shadow of a doubt of their ability to storm Makkah if only Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had commanded it. They stayed in al Hudaybiyah a few days questioning one another regarding the wisdom of this pact which the Prophet (P.B.U.H) had concluded. Some of them were inclined to doubt its wisdom. But they bore in patience and then returned home. On their way home between Makkah and Madinah, the sūrah "al Fath" was revealed to the Prophet (P.B.U.H), and he recited it to his companions.

﴿ إِنَّا فَتَحْنَا لَكَ فَتْحًا مُّبِينًا ۝ لِّيَغْفِرَ لَكَ ٱللَّهُ مَا تَقَدَّمَ مِن ذَنۢبِكَ وَمَا تَأَخَّرَ وَيُتِمَّ نِعْمَتَهُۥ عَلَيْكَ وَيَهْدِيَكَ صِرَٰطًا مُّسْتَقِيمًا ۝ ﴾

سورة الفتح الآيتان ١ - ٢

(Verily We have granted you a manifest Victory: That Allah may forgive you your faults of the past and those to follow; fulfil His favour to you; and guide you on the Straight Way) (Al-Fath: 1- 2)

There was hence no reason to doubt that the Hudaybiyah Treaty was a victory for the Muslims. History has shown that this pact was the product of profound political wisdom and farsightedness and that it brought about consequences of great advantage to Islam and indeed to Arabia as a whole. It was the first time that Quraysh acknowledged that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was an equal rather than a mere rebel and runaway tribesman. It was the first time that Makkah acknowledged the Islamic state that was rising in Arabia. Makkan acquiescence in the right of the Muslims to visit the sanctuary and to perform the pilgrimage was equally a recognition on her part that Islam was an established and approved religion in the Peninsula. Furthermore, the peace of the following two or ten years gave the Muslims the peace and security they needed on their southern flank without fear of an invasion from Quraysh. The peace also contributed to the spread of Islam. Even Quraysh, the most determined enemy of Islam and its greatest antagonist, had by this pact come to recognize Islam and its community, and to acquiesce in that in which it had never acquiesced before. Indeed, Islam spread after this treaty more widely and quickly than it had ever spread before. While those who accompanied Muhammad (P.B.U.H) to Hudaybiyah counted one thousand and four hundred, those who accompanied him on his conquest of Makkah two years later counted well over ten thousand. The

greatest objection to those who doubted the wisdom of the Hudaybiyah pact was directed to the provision that any Quraysh member joining the Muslims without the permission of his guardian would have to be returned to Quraysh, and that any apostate from Islam would not have to be returned to Madinah. Muhammad's opinion (P.B.U.H) in this matter centered on the consideration that the apostate from Islam who seeks the shelter of Quraysh is not really worthy of readmission to the Muslim community; that for the convert who wished to join that community but who was not allowed to at present, Allah would soon find an outlet. Events have confirmed this judgment of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) far more quickly than his companions anticipated, and given evidence that Islam had actually drawn great advantages. Indeed, the treaty even made it possible two months later for Muhammad (P.B.U.H) to begin to address himself to the kings and chiefs of foreign states and invite them to join Islam.

The Story of Abū Basir

Events succeeded one another very rapidly, all of which confirmed Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) judgment and wisdom. Abu Basir became a Muslim and escaped from Makkah to Madinah. Obviously, the provisions of the Hudaybiyah Treaty applied to him and demanded his return to the Quraysh, for he had not obtained the permission of his master. Azhar ibn 'Awf and al Akhnas ibn Shariq wrote to the Prophet to this effect and sent their letter with a tribesman of Banū 'Amir and a slave of theirs.

When the demand was made, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) called Abū Basir and said to him: "We have covenanted with the Quraysh to honor the Treaty of Hudaybiyah which you well know. In our religion, we are not permitted to cheat. You should [illegible] return to your people. Allah will grant to you and to the

other persecuted Muslims a means of emancipation in His good time." Abu Basir objected to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) that the unbelievers would force him to apostatize. The Prophet (P.B.U.H), however, repeated the same judgment to him. Abū Basir had, therefore, to give himself up to the two messengers and accompany them back to Makkah. Once they arrived at Dhu al Hulayfah, Abu Basir asked' the Banū 'Amir tribesman to show him his sword, and as soon as he laid his hand upon it, he struck the tribesman with it and killed him. The Makkan slave ran toward Madinah and into the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) presence with obvious signs of fear and panic on his face. When interrogated, the slave, told the Prophet that Abū Basir had killed his master. Soon, Abū Basir himself arrived brandishing his sword and addressing Muhammad (P.B.U.H): "O Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), you have fulfilled your duty under the Treaty and Allah has relieved you of your obligation, for you have in fact surrendered me to my people as the treaty prescribed. But I was not willing to allow myself to be persecuted, enticed away, or forced to abjure my religion." The Prophet (P.B.U.H) did not hide his admiration for him and wished that he had many companions. Later on, Abu Basir went to al 'Is on the sea coast, on the road which the Quraysh followed to al Sham and which the Treaty of Hudaybiyah prescribed to keep open for Makkan trade. When his story and that of Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) admiration of him reached Makkah, the Muslims still residing there were elated, and about seventy of them ran away to al 'Is to follow him as their chief. Abu Basir and his companions began to cut off the trade route on their own initiative, killing any unbeliever they caught and seizing any camels belonging to Quraysh. Only then did it dawn on the Quraysh what a loss they had incurred by insisting as they did on keeping their Muslim members or slaves in forced residence in Makkah. They realized that the man who is truly committed to Islam was a greater handicap to them than the loss of him altogether to the Muslim

camp. Such a man would escape at the first opportunity without entering into the camp of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and, hence, without becoming an outlaw under the prescriptions of the Hudaybiyah Treaty. He would then wage a terrible war against the Makkans in which the Makkans had everything to lose and nothing to gain. Remembering too well that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had cut off the caravan road after his emigration to Madinah, the Quraysh feared that Abū Basir would do likewise. They therefore wrote to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) asking him, in violation of the Hudaybiyah Treaty, to accept their fugitives into his camp in order to keep the caravan route open. In the consequent negotiation, the Quraysh relinquished the privilege emphasized by Suhayl ibn ‘Amr so strongly, namely, that the Muslims of Quraysh who escape therefrom without approval of their masters or guardians be returned to Quraysh. Thus, the concession criticized by ‘Umar ibn al Khattab and for the sake of which he revolted against Abū Bakr was dropped by request of the Quraysh. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) then invited all the Muslims to enter Madinah, and the caravan route to al Sham became once more secure.

Muslim Women Emigrants

As for the Muslim women of Quraysh who escaped to Madinah, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had a different opinion. Umm Kultham, daughter of ‘Uqbah ibn Abū Mu‘ayt, escaped from Makkah to Madinah after the Hudaybiyah Treaty, and her two brothers ‘Umarah and al Walid came to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) demanding her return under terms of the Treaty. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) refused, judging that the treaty did not apply to women and that if women called for assistance and shelter, their request could not be turned down. Furthermore, when a woman becomes a Muslim, she is no more legally tied to her husband

who is an unbeliever. Dissolution of the bond of marriage is then automatic. On this point, the Revelation is clear: "O Men who believe, if the women believers come to you for shelter, examine them, remembering that Allah knows the nature of their faith better than anyone. If you find them to be true believers, do not return them to the polytheists to whom they are no longer legitimate. Return to them that which they have spent and marry them if you wish; for there is no blame upon you if you do so, provided you give them their dowries. Do not hold to your matrimonial ties with women unbelievers, but ask them to return what you have spent and return to them what they have spent and separate yourselves from each other. That is the judgment of Allah and He wishes to see it observed among you. Allah is All-Knowing and All-Wise." Thus events confirmed Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) wisdom, foresight, and deep political insight. History has indeed proved that the Treaty of al Hudaybiyah actually laid down a very important foundation for Islam's political career as well as for its spread throughout the world. That is the meaning of the clear victory Allah had promised.

Relations between Quraysh and Muhammad (P.B.U.H) became quite peaceful and settled after the Treaty of al Hudaybiyah. Both parties felt secure. The Quraysh embarked on enlarging trade, hoping to recapture the losses which had resulted from the war with the Muslims in which the road to al Sham was cut. As for Muhammad (P.B.U.H), he embarked on a wider policy of mission, seeking to bring his message to all men in all corners of the earth and to lay down the foundations for the happiness and success of the Muslims throughout the Peninsula now that their security was guaranteed. Both these considerations enabled him to send his messengers to the kings in the surrounding empires and, especially after the Battle of Khaybar, to expel the Jews from the Arabian Peninsula altogether.

21

The Campaign of Khaybar and Missions to Kings

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and the Muslims returned from al Hudaybiyah to Madinah three weeks after the signing of the treaty with Quraysh and the agreement that they would not enter Makkah that year but the following year. Many of them returned with wounded pride. They continued to feel dejected and despondent until ***surah*** "al Fath," revealed on the road to Madinah, alleviated their despondency. While in Hudaybiyah as well as after the return to Madinah, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) thought about what he should do to strengthen the faith of his companions and to spread the message of Islam. He thought of sending messengers to Heraclius, Chosroes, the Archbishop of Alexandria, the Negus of Abyssinia, King al Hārith of Ghassān, and the satrap of Chosroes in Yaman. He also pondered the necessity of eliminating Jewish influence in the Arabian Peninsula once and for all.

Crystallization of the Islamic Call

In fact, the Islamic message had by this time reached a high level of crystallization and comprehensiveness. The time was ripe for its dissemination among mankind. Besides the doctrine of the unity of Allah and its implications for worship and ethics, the Islamic message developed so widely as to include within its purview all aspects of social activity and human relations. These it sought to regulate and infuse with its ethos and spirit. It attached such importance to mans s social relations that it put its precepts for social behavior on a level with the doctrine of the unity of Allah. The system of principles Islam elaborated came nearer than any other to enable man to attain perfection and to realize the absolute, or the highest ideals in space-time. Hence, a large number of specific proscriptions were revealed during this period to regulate man's social relationships.

The Proscription of Alcohol

Biographers of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) have disagreed regarding the time of the prohibition of alcohol. Some assert that it took place in the fourth year A.H. Most of them, however, agree that it took place in the same year as the Hudaybiyah pact. The purpose of the prohibition of alcohol was purely a social one, unrelated to the unity of Allah as a purely theological doctrine. The evidence for this is the fact that the Qur'ān remained silent on this problem for a period of approximately twenty years after Muhammad's commission (P.B.U.H) to prophethood. Throughout this period, the Muslims continued to use alcohol. Further evidence to this effect comes from the fact that the prohibition itself was not categorically laid down all at once, but was revealed progressively and at intervals. There was a series of prohibitions, each prescribing a limitative measure of

use. Total abstinence was not demanded until near the end of the Madinese period of the Revelation. It is told that 'Umar ibn al Khattāb inquired about the drinking of wine and prayed for Allah to show the Muslims His will in this regard, and that it was in this connection that the verse was revealed saying,

﴿ ۞ يَسْـَٔلُونَكَ عَنِ ٱلْخَمْرِ وَٱلْمَيْسِرِ ۖ قُلْ فِيهِمَآ إِثْمٌ كَبِيرٌ وَمَنَـٰفِعُ لِلنَّاسِ وَإِثْمُهُمَآ أَكْبَرُ مِن نَّفْعِهِمَا ۗ ﴿٢١٩﴾ ﴾

سورة البقرة آية ٢١٩

(They ask you concerning wine and gambling. Say: "In them is great sin, and some profit, for men; but the sin is greater than the profit.) (Al-Baqarah: 219)

Despite the indication this verse gave, the Muslims who were in the habit of drinking did not stop. Some of them in a state of drunkenness would pray without knowing what they were reciting. Again 'Umar prayed Allah to show more of His will in this matter. The common Arabic saying, "Alcohol causes the loss of both mind and money," is attributed by tradition to him. Later, another step toward prohibition was taken with the following Revelation:

﴿ يَـٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا۟ لَا تَقْرَبُوا۟ ٱلصَّلَوٰةَ وَأَنتُمْ سُكَـٰرَىٰ حَتَّىٰ تَعْلَمُوا۟ مَا تَقُولُونَ ﴿٤٣﴾ ﴾ سورة النساء آية ٤٣

(O you who believe! approach not prayers in a State of intoxication, until you can understand all that you)

(An-Nisaa: 43)

From that day on, the town crier of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) proclaimed at the times of prayer: “Let no drunken man come to prayer.” Despite this new limitation upon alcohol, Umar continued to pray to Allah to send down yet clearer Revelation concerning it. Personally, ‘Umar was quite opposed to alcohol because the Arabs often drank to the point of losing decorum, pulling one another’s beards and hitting one another. It so happened that at a banquet which included Muhājirūn and Ansār, a member of the former group boasted of his peoples’ superiority over the latter group. A member of al Ansär, equally intoxicated, wounded the former in the nose by hitting him with a skull bone. Under the influence of liquor, the two groups quarrelled, fought, and generated all kinds of hatred toward one another until they almost destroyed their previous harmony and mutual esteem. On this occasion, Allah said in a special Revelation:

﴿ يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوٓاْ إِنَّمَا ٱلۡخَمۡرُ وَٱلۡمَيۡسِرُ وَٱلۡأَنصَابُ وَٱلۡأَزۡلَٰمُ رِجۡسٞ مِّنۡ عَمَلِ ٱلشَّيۡطَٰنِ فَٱجۡتَنِبُوهُ لَعَلَّكُمۡ تُفۡلِحُونَ ۝٩٠ إِنَّمَا يُرِيدُ ٱلشَّيۡطَٰنُ أَن يُوقِعَ بَيۡنَكُمُ ٱلۡعَدَٰوَةَ وَٱلۡبَغۡضَآءَ فِي ٱلۡخَمۡرِ وَٱلۡمَيۡسِرِ وَيَصُدَّكُمۡ عَن ذِكۡرِ ٱللَّهِ وَعَنِ ٱلصَّلَوٰةِۖ فَهَلۡ أَنتُم مُّنتَهُونَ ۝٩١ ﴾

سورة المائدة الآيتان ٩٠-٩١

(O you who believe! intoxicants and gambling, sacrificing to stones, and (divination by) arrows, are an abomination of Satan's handiwork: eschew such (abomination), that you may prosper. Satan's plan is (but) to excite enmity and hatred between you, with intoxicants and gambling, and hinder you from the remembrance of

Allah, and from prayer: will you not then abstain?)
(Al-Ma'idah:90-91)

On the day this Revelation was made and the prohibition of alcohol was instituted, Anas, the wine seller and server, spilled all the alcohol in his possession. Other men who were not pleased by the new legislation asked: "Could alcohol be a real abomination even though it was consumed by some of the martyrs of Uhud and Badr?" In response to them, the following verse was revealed:

﴿ لَيْسَ عَلَى ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا۟ وَعَمِلُوا۟ ٱلصَّٰلِحَٰتِ جُنَاحٌ فِيمَا طَعِمُوٓا۟ إِذَا مَا ٱتَّقَوا۟ وَّءَامَنُوا۟ وَعَمِلُوا۟ ٱلصَّٰلِحَٰتِ ثُمَّ ٱتَّقَوا۟ وَّءَامَنُوا۟ ثُمَّ ٱتَّقَوا۟ وَّأَحْسَنُوا۟ ۗ وَٱللَّهُ يُحِبُّ ٱلْمُحْسِنِينَ ﴿٩٣﴾ ﴾ سورة المائدة آية ٩٣

(On those who believe and do deeds of righteousness there is no blame for what they ate (in the past), when they guard themselves from evil, and believe, and do deeds of righteousness - then again, guard themselves from evil and believe - then again, guard themselves from evil and do good. For Allah loves those who do good.)
(Al-Ma'idah:93)

By commanding mercy and compassion, the doing of good works, disciplining the soul and character by means of worship, and eliminating false pride by means of kneeling and prostration in prayer, Islam became the natural perfection of all previous religions, the religion to which all men are called.

The Persian and Byzantine Empires

Heraclitis and Chosroes were at the time the chiefs of the

Roman and Persian empires, the greatest states of the age and the makers and arbiters of world policy and world destiny. Between them war was continual, as we have had occasion to see. The Persians were at first victorious and conquered Palestine and Egypt. They governed Jerusalem from where they moved away the cross of Christ. Later, the arm of destiny moved, and it was the Roman flag that flew over Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. Heraclius recovered the cross and put it back in its original place after a pilgrimage to Jerusalem on foot in fulfilment of a vow he had taken before victory. One can easily appreciate the position of the two empires if one remembers the tremendous fear which their very names inspired in any person who fell within their reach. Men were so awed by the two empires that no state or community could think of opposing them, and every man kept on good terms with their authorities and representatives as essential to survival. Since the world of the time was one divided between the spheres of influence of these two giants, it was natural for the Arabian Peninsula to fall within the one or the other. 'Iraq was under Persia while Egypt and al Sham were under the influence of Rome. Hijāz and the entire remainder of the Arabian Peninsula were divided between the two. Whatever prosperity the Arabs enjoyed depended wholly upon trade between Yaman and al Sham. It was absolutely essential, therefore, that the Arabs enjoy the friendship of Khosrau as well as of Heraclius if their trade was to be successful. The Arab population consisted of tribes, sometimes mutually hostile, sometimes peaceful, but never related to one another by a bond constituting a political structure capable of counteracting the influence of either of the two great powers. It was hence amazing that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) would think of sending his messengers to the two great kings, as well as to Ghassan and Yaman, to Egypt and Ahyssinia, and to call them all to his religion without fear of the consequences of such deeds for the Arabian Peninsula as a whole, or without fear that Roman and

Persian influence in Arabia might actually he transformed into a solid yoke of subjugation.

The Prophet's (P.B.U.H) Delegates

Muhammad (P.B.U.H), however, did not hesitate to call all these men to the religion of truth. One day, addressing his companions, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) said: "O men, Allah has sent me to be a Prophet of mercy to all mankind. Do not, therefore, disagree and divide as the disciples of Jesus, son of Mary, did after him." When his companions asked him to explain, he replied: "Jesus had called his disciples to the same truth to which I have called you. Those of them whom he sent to places close by accepted and observed the truth that Jesus had conveyed; those whom he sent to faraway places did not like that truth and could not accept it." Muhammad (P.B.U.H) mentioned to them that he was planning to send messengers to Heraclius, the Archbishop of Alexandria; to al Hārith of Ghassān, King of al Hirah; to al Hārith of Himyar, King of Yaman; and to the Negus of Abyssinia, calling them all to Islam. The companions approved and made for him a seal out of silver which read "Muhammad, the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H)." Muhammad (P.B.U.H) sent letters to these chiefs, an example of which is the message sent to Heraclius. It read as follows: "In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. From Muhammad ibn 'Abdullah to Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium. Peace be upon the rightly guided. I call you to the religion of Islam. If you convert, you will be saved and Allahwill double your reward. If you do not convert, responsibility for the salvation of your subjects rests with you. 'O People of the Book, come now to a fair principle, common to both of us, namely, that we worship only God, that we do not associate aught with Him and that we do not take one another as lords besides Allah. But if they refuse, then say, "Take note that we are Muslims." The Prophet

(P.B.U.H) gave this message to Dihyah ibn Khalifah al Kalbi and asked him to convey it to Heraclius. He dictated a similar letter to Chosroes and asked ‘Abdullah ibn Hudhāfah al Sahmi to convey it to him. Another letter addressed to the Negus was handed to ‘Umar ibn Umayyah al Damri. A letter to the Arch-bishop of Alexandria was handed to Hātib ibn abu Balta’ah; to the King of Yamānah, to Salit ibn ‘Amr; to the King of Bahrayn, to al ‘Ala’ ibn al Hadrami; to al Hārith of Ghassān, King of the Approaches of al Sham, to Shujā’ ibn Wahb al Asadi; to al Hānith of Himyar, King of Yaman, to Ibn Umayyah al Makhzāmi. All these men went out each to the destination assigned to him by the Prophet (P.B.U.H). Most historians affirm that they started their journeys in various directions at the same time. Some, however, assert that they were sent at different intervals.

Persia and Byzantium

That Muhammad (P.B.U.H) sent such missions to the kings of the world is truly surprising. More surprising still is the fact that within barely thirty years of the time he sent those missions, the kingdoms of these kings were conquered by the Muslims and most of their inhabitants converted to Islam. The surprise, however, is dissipated when one remembers that the two great empires disputing the leadership of the world and dividing it between their two civilizations were really disputing only the material possessions of the world. In both of them, spiritual power had long been decaying. Persia, for its part, was divided between paganism and Zoroastrianism. The Christianity of Byzantium, on the other hand, was rife with dispute and controversy between various sects. There was no single conviction, neither faith nor world view, to inspire the hearts and satisfy the minds of the people. Rather religion had become a

series of rites and superstitions by which the Church was exercising its control and exploitation of the masses of mankind. As for the new call of Muhammad (P.B.U.H), it was purely spiritual, raising man to the highest levels of his humanity. Wherever matter contends with spirit, wherever care for the present contends with the hope for eternity, matter and concern for the present are sure to lose.

Furthermore, despite their greatness, both Persia and Byzantium had lost the power of initiative, creativity, and culture-building. In thought, feeling and action, the two empires had declined to the level of ancestor-imitation where every novelty was looked upon as misguidance and abomination. But human society, like individual men and all living organisms, must renew itself every day. Either it remains youthful renewing itself, recreating, reconstructing, and always adding to its life, or it reaches old age and, being incapable of recreation and reconstruction, spends its own life-capital. Its ensuing history is a continuing reduction and downfall toward a tragic end. Any human society which has thus fallen is susceptible to renewal and recreation by another society youthful enough to instill new life into anything it touches. Such a new element, full of life power and youth and growing in close proximity to Persia and Byzantium was Muhammad (P.B.U.H). His mission was so new and vigorous that it breathed new life into the masses of mankind whose spirit had been destroyed internally by the vacuitous rites and superstitions of the decaying societies in the great empires. The fire of the new faith which illumined the soul of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and the indomitable power of his soul explain the fact of his calling the kings of the earth to Islam, the religion of truth and perfection, the religion of Allah—May He be revered! The great kings were called to the religion which liberated the mind to reason and the heart to see for itself. Islam was the religion which gave man, whether in the life of worship or in the ordering of society, general principles which harmonized the powers of

spirit and matter and made possible the highest levels of life on earth. Where such harmony prevails, there is neither weakness nor false pride. After going through all the stages of necessary development, human society can reach the highest possible level of existence designed for it.

Elimination of Jewish influence in Arabia

But would Muhammad (P.B.U.H) send his missions to the foreign kings while his own domain was threatened by the treacherous Jews who were still living to the north of Madinah? It is true that the Treaty of Hudaybiyah had secured his southern flank, especially from Quraysh. But what about the north, where both Heraclius and Chosroes might attack Madinah in cooperation with the Jews of Khaybar who were anxious for an opportunity to take revenge upon Muhammad (P.B.U.H)? It would be relatively easy for either emperor to remind the Jews of the fate of their coreligionists, the Banu Qurayzah, Banū al Nadir, and Banū Qaynuqa', who had previously been expelled from their dwellings after blockade, fighting, and war, and to incite them to new ventures against Muhammad (P.B.U.H). For their enmity and bitterness surpassed that of Quraysh. They were more attached to their religion, more intelligent, and more learned. On the other hand, it was not possible to reconcile them with a peace treaty like that of Hudaybiyah since the covenant of Madinah had been violated by them much to their own detriment. Were help to come to them from the side of Byzantium, their natural inclination to rise again against Muhammad (P.B.U.H) could not be contained. Hence, it was thought necessary to put a final end to their influence in the Arabian Peninsula, and to do so quickly without giving them the time to forge any new alliances with Ghatafān or any of other tribe hostile to Muhammad (P.B.U.H).

And such Muhammad (P.B.U.H) did. He had hardly spent fifteen days after his return from al Hudaybiyah—a month according to another version—when he commanded the people to prepare for the campaign of Khaybar, restricting the call to arms to those who had accompanied him to al Hudaybiyah. His purpose was to leave behind all those interested in booty, and to go out with the truly loyal followers who sought service for the sake of Allah. The Muslims marched forth one thousand and six hundred strong, including a cavalry of one hundred. They were confident of Allah's assistance and victory, and recalled. ***surah*** "al Fath" which was revealed shortly after the signing of the Hudaybiyah treaty;

﴿ سَيَقُولُ ٱلْمُخَلَّفُونَ إِذَا ٱنطَلَقْتُمْ إِلَىٰ مَغَانِمَ لِتَأْخُذُوهَا ذَرُونَا نَتَّبِعْكُمْ ۖ يُرِيدُونَ أَن يُبَدِّلُوا۟ كَلَـٰمَ ٱللَّهِ ۚ قُل لَّن تَتَّبِعُونَا كَذَٰلِكُمْ قَالَ ٱللَّهُ مِن قَبْلُ ۖ فَسَيَقُولُونَ بَلْ تَحْسُدُونَنَا ۚ بَلْ كَانُوا۟ لَا يَفْقَهُونَ إِلَّا قَلِيلًا ﴿١٥﴾ ﴾ سورة الفتح آية ١٥

(Those who lagged behind (will say), when you set forth to acquire booty (in war): "Permit us to follow you." They wish to change Allah's word. Say: "Not thus will you follow us: Allah has already declared (this) beforehand". Then they will say, "But you are jealous of us." Nay, but little do they understand (such things) (Al-Fath:15)

The March against Khaybar

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his men crossed the distance between Khaybar and Madinah in three days. Khaybar did not

learn of their move until the Muslims' forces stood in front of their fortifications. In the morning, when the Khaybar workmen went out of their homes to go to their plantations, they saw the Muslim army for the first time and ran away shouting to one another, "There is Muhammad and his army." When Muhammad (P.B.U.H) heard them, he said: "Khaybar is doomed; whenever we enter the enemy's land, the fate of that enemy is sealed."

Jewish Reaction

Nonetheless, the Jews of Khaybar did in fact anticipate Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) move and thought of ways and means of escape. Some leaders advised Khaybar to form a block with the Jews of Wādi al Qura and Taymā' and to take the initiative in attacking Madinah first. This group saw no point in depending upon Arab tribes. Other leaders advised that it was more salutary for them to enter into a new pact with the Prophet (P.B.U.H) in order to mitigate Muslim hatred and hostility, especially among al Ansar. This suggestion was particularly appealing after the experience in Madinah, when Huyayy ibn Akhtab and his party had instigated the Arab tribes to attack Madinah and sack its fortification in the Campaign of al Khandaq. The truth is, however, that neither Jews nor Muslims were ready for any conciliation, especially since the Muslims had killed Sallam ibn Abū al Huqayq and al Yasir ibn Razzām, two Khaybar chieftains, before venturing out on their present expedition against Khaybar. As a consequence, the Jews were constantly in touch with the tribe of Ghatafan and sent to them for help as soon as they discovered Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) army in their domain.. Historians differ regarding Ghatafān's answer to Khaybar's call, whether they actually did come to Khaybar's rescue or whether the Muslim -army prevented any such assistance from reaching Khaybar.

The Two Armies

Regardless of whether Ghatafàn had actually helped the Jews or not, it soon renounced its attachment to them and became neutral as early as Muhammad (P.B.U.H) promised it a share in the spoils of war. The campaign of Khaybar was one of the greatest. The masses of Jews living in Khaybar were the strongest, the richest, and the best equipped for war of all the peoples of Arabia. The Muslims, for their part, were certain that as long as the Jews held any power in the Peninsula, the two religions would have to compete with each other endlessly. That is why they advanced so resolutely and fought so valiantly. The Quraysh as well as the whole Arabian Peninsula watched the campaign and awaited its results. Some Quraysh tribesmen wagered with one another concerning its outcome; many believed that the tables would now be turned against the Muslims, knowing how fortified were the dwellings, how impregnable the city stood perched over rocks and mountains, and how experienced its people were in the arts of war.

The Muslims' Blockade

The Muslims, on the other hand, brought to Khaybar all the equipment and preparation they could muster. After consulting one another and listening to Sallam ibn Mishkam, their chief, the Jews decided to assemble their wealth and children in the fortified quarters of al Watih and al Sulālim, to place their ammunition at Na'im, and to deploy their fighting men at Natat where Sallām ibn Mishkam would lead them in battle to the bitter end. The two armies met at Natat and fought each other strongly. The encounter, however, was not decisive. There were fifty wounded among the Muslims on the first day and probably

many more than this among the Jews. When Sallam ibn Mishkam was killed, al Hārith ibn Abu Zaynab took over the leadership of the Jewish forces. Charging from the fortress of Na'im, the new leader attacked the Muslim army at the flank, but he was soon repulsed by Banu al Khazraj, who were deployed in that area. As a result of this engagement, the Muslims tightened their encirclement of Khaybar. Realizing that this was their last stand in Arabia, the Jews fought desperately. As the days went by, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) sent Abu Bakr with a contingent and a flag to the fortress of Na'im; but he was not able to conquer it despite heavy fighting. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) then sent 'Umar ibn al Khattab on the following day, but he fared no better than Abū Bakr. On the third day, the Prophet called 'Ali ibn Abu Tālib and, blessing him, commanded him to storm the fortress. 'Ali led his force and fought valiantly. In the engagement, he lost his armor and, shielding himself with a portal he had seized, he continued to fight until the fortress was stormed by his troops. The same portal was used by 'Ali as a little bridge to enable the Muslim soldiers to enter the houses within the fortress. The fortress of Na'im fell after the Jewish leader, al Hārith ibn Abu Zaynab, was killed in battle. Evidently, both Jews and Muslims were determined to fight it out to the end.

Having stormed the fortress of Na'im, the Muslims then directed their attention to the fortress of al Qamus which they stormed after equally strenuous fighting. Provisions were becoming rather scarce within the Muslim army, and many began to approach Muhammad (P.B.U.H) personally to ask him for something with which to stave off their hunger. Unable to find provisions, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) permitted them to eat horse meat. Later on, a Muslim soldier noticed a herd of goats entering one of the fortifications of the Jews, launched an immediate attack, and seized two animals which were immediately killed and consumed. Not until after they had conquered the fortress of al Sa'b ibn Mu'ādh was their shortage relieved. For within that

fortress, they found large stores of food that enabled them to continue the blockade of other fortresses. Throughout this campaign, the Jews would not give up a single inch of territory without putting up a heroic struggle for it. Whenever they retreated, it was only before preponderant Muslim forces. At one stage in the campaign, Marhab came out of one of the fortresses fully covered with his military attire and singing the following verses 'Khaybar knows that I am Marhab, that I am an experienced hero fully prepared for war. I deal blows to my enemies and I strike them. Even the lions I face with drawn sword. The ground I hold is unassailable. Even the most experienced in war dares not approach it." Muhammad (P.B.U.H) asked his companions, "Who will rise to meet him?" Muhammad ibn Maslamah rose and said, 'Send me, O Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H). For I am the angry bereaved who lost his brother yesterday." The Prophet (P.B.U.H) permitted him and he sprang to meet Marhab. The pair fought valiantly and, at one stage, Marhab almost killed the Muslim. Ibn Maslamah, however, intercepted the falling sword with his shield which bent under its weight and was cut so that the sword could not be pulled out and disengaged. Muhammad ibn Maslamah seized the opportunity and gave Marhab a fatal blow. This war between Muslim and Jew was a hard and savage struggle, and the fortifications of the Jews made it even more so.

Jewish Despair and Collapse

The Muslims then directed their attention to the fortress of al Zubayr and surrounded it for a long time, waging a number of harsh attacks without being able to storm it. At one stage, they seized the water supply of the fortress and stopped its flow. The Jews were forced to come out and engage the Muslims in battle but, faced with preponderant Muslim forces, they fled. Their

fortresses fell one after another into Muslim hands, the last of them being those of al Watih and al Sulalim in the al Katibah area. Only then did the Jews become truly desperate, and they begged for peace. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) had already seized most of their possessions at the fortresses of al Shaqq, Natat, and al Katibah. In the circumstances, they had only their own skins to seek to save. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) accepted their plea and permitted them to stay on their land whose title now passed to him by right of conquest. The terms of their surrender provided that they would be given half their crops in compensation for their labor.

The Jews of Khaybar were thus treated differently from those of Banū Qaynuqa' and Banū al Nadir who were forced to evacuate their lands altogether. With the fall of Khaybar, Jewish power no more threatened Islam or the Muslims. Moreover, Khaybar had large areas of orchards and groves of date trees whose maintenance needed an experienced labor force. Although al Ansār, the Muslims of Madinah, were agriculturalists, they were needed back home to tend their own gardens and orchards. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) also needed his men for the purpose of war and could not afford to demobilize his army for the sake of agriculture. The Jews of Khaybar were hence allowed to continue to work their own groves after their political dominion had been destroyed. Despite Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) sharecropping arrangement, the agricultural economy of Khaybar retrogressed after the destruction of Jewish political power. 'Abdullah ibn Rawāhah, Muhammad's deputy (P.B.U.H) for the division of the Khaybar crops, dealt justly with the Jews, following in this regard the instructions of the Prophet himself (P.B.U.H). So honorable was his conduct that he returned to them copies of the Torah seized by the Muslims in the course of the hostilities. This is in direct contrast to the manner in which the Romans treated the Jews when they conquered Jerusalem and

burned all the sacred writings they found in the temple and trampled them under foot. It is also far from the Christian persecution of the Jews in Spain where every Torah seized was put to the torch.

As the Jews of Khaybar pleaded for peace while the Muslims blockaded al Watih and al Sulālim at Khaybar, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) sent a message to the Jews of Fadak asking them to surrender their properties and wealth or accept his terms. The people of Fadak were so panic-stricken at the news of Khaybar that they agreed to give up half their wealth without fighting. The wealth of Khaybar was to be distributed among the members of the Muslim armed forces according to rule because they had fought to secure it. The wealth of Fadak, on the other hand, fell to Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) as no Muslims and no fighting were involved in its acquisition.

The Prophet (P.B.U.H) prepared to return to Madinah by way of Wadi al Qura where the Jews of that area prepared to fight the Muslims. Some fighting did indeed take place, but the Jews realized the futility of their resistance and pleaded for peace as Khaybar and Fadak had done before. As for the Jews of Taymā, they accepted to pay the ***jizyah*** without fighting. Thus, all the Jews of the Peninsula submitted to the authority of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and their political influence was brought to an end. The northern flank of Muslim power, namely the whole area north of Madinah, was now as secure as the south had become through the Treaty of al Hudaybiyah. With the collapse of Jewish political power, Muslim hatred of the Jews mellowed, and this was especially true of the Ansar of Madinah who even closed their eyes when a number of Jews returned to Madinah to resume their normal trades ard professions. Indeed, the Prophet himself (P.B.U.H) sympathized with such Jewish returnees and joined with them in mourning 'Abdullah ibn Ubayy by presenting condolences to his son. Moreover, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) took especial care to instruct Mu'ādh ibn Jabal not to

sway the Jews from their religion but to allow them to practice it as they had done before. He did not impose any ***jizyah*** on the Jews of al Bahrayn despite the conservatism of the latter and their attachment to the faith of their forefathers. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) also reconciled the Jews of Banū Ghaziyah and Banu ʻArid and offered them his covenant and protection provided they agree to pay ***jizyah.*** On the whole, the Jews of the Peninsula lost their political power and fell under that of the Muslims. So much had their prestige deteriorated, however, that they soon found themselves having to emigrate from a land which once felt their influence. According to some versions, this Jewish emigration took place during the lifetime of the Prophet (P.B.U.H); according to others, shortly after his death.

Jewish acquiescence in their fate under the dominion of Islam did not take place at one and the same time or immediately after their military defeat, for they were exceedingly resentful and full of hatred for their Muslim fellows. Zàynab, daughter of al Hārith, and wife of Sallām ibn Mishkam, cooked a goat and presented it to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) after the peace treaty with Khaybar and Jewish-Muslim relations returned to normal. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) sat down at the table with his companions to eat of this Jewish prepared food. Taking the first mouthful, he realized that the taste was strange. Bishr ibn al Bara' likewise had the same realization and could hardly swallow the first mouthful. As he threw his away, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) said: "I have a premonition that this dish is poisoned." He then called Zaynab and questioned her, and she confessed. In defense of herself, she said to the Prophet (P.B.U.H): "You know what has befallen my people at youn hand, and you can appreciate my resentment and hatred. In pondering the whole event, I arrived at the conclusion that if you, the source of all the evil, were a king like other kings, then to put an end to your life would bring peace to me and my people. If, on the other hand, you are a true prophet, then surely you would find out that the food was

poisoned and you would not eat." The one mouthful which Bishr ate was fatal to him. The chroniclers disagree regarding the fate of Zaynab. Most of them agree that the Prophet (P.B.U.H) appreciated her defense, forgave her, and sympathized with her loss of father and husband. Others relate that she was killed in revenge for the life of Bishr.

Muhammad's (P.B.U.H)Marriage to Safiyyah

This treacherous deed of Zaynab adversely affected the attitudes of the Muslims. It destroyed whatever confidence they still had in the Jews. Indeed, it confirmed their presentiment that there could be no peace with the Jews as long as they were not finally destroyed. Safiyyah, daughter of Huyayy ibn Akhtab of Banū al Nadir, was one of the captives the Muslims had seized inside the fortresses of Khaybar. Her husband, Kinānah ibn al Rabi', was known by the Muslims to have been the guardian of all the wealth of Banu al Nadir. When the Prophet (P.B.U.H) had asked Kinanah about his treasure, the latter solemnly declared that he did not know where it was hidden. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) threatened him that in case the treasure was found hidden in his place he would be put to death. Kinanah agreed. One day when Kinanah was seen moving about an uninhabited house in the outskirts, his movement was reported to the Prophet (P.B.U.H). After the Prophet (P.B.U.H) ordered the inside of the house be dug out, part of the treasure was revealed. Kinanah was killed as a result. When a companion learned of Safiyyah's captivity, he approached the Prophet (P.B.U.H) with the suggestion that, since she was the lady of Banu Qurayzah and Banū al Nadir, she was fit to become the wife of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) alone. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) granted her, her freedom and then married her, following the example of the great conquerors who married the daughters and wives of the kings whom they had conquered,

partly in order to alleviate their tragedy and partly to preserve their dignity. Abū Ayyub Khalid al Ansāri, however, feared that Safiyyah's tragic loss of father, husband, and people might incite her to avenge herself against the Prophet (P.B.U.H). He therefore spent the night near Muhammad's tent (P.B.U.H) where the wedding had taken place, with sword drawn. When the morning came and the Prophet (P.B.U.H) saw him in that state, he asked him for an explanation. Abū Ayyub answered that he feared for the Prophet (P.B.U.H) that this woman, who until very recently had been a non-Muslim, might attack him. The truth, however, was otherwise. Safiyyah remained loyal to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) throughout his life. In his last illness, when the Prophet (P.B.U.H) was surrounded by his wives, Safiyyah came forward and said: "O Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), I surely wish that that from which you suffer might be in me rather than in you." Muhammad's wives (P.B.U.H) winked at one another and the Prophet (P.B.U.H), observing their reaction, said: "Go on and wink at one another! By Allah, I know that Safiyyah is truthful and loyal." Safiyyah, who survived Muhammad (P.B.U.H), lived until the time of the caliphate of Mu'awiyah. She was buried at al Baqi'.

Delegation to Heraclius

Whatever happened to the messengers whom Muhammad (P.B.U.H) sent to Heraclius, Chosroes, the Negus, and other kings and men of power surrounding Arabia? Did they go forth before the Campaign of Khaybar, or did they participate in that Campaign until Muslim victory had been achieved and traveled thereafter? Historians differ so widely in this respect that it is very difficult to reach a conclusion. We are inclined to think that they did not all go forth at the same time, that some of them began their travel before the campaign of Khaybar and others

thereafter. More than one chronicler has asserted that Dihyah ibn Khalifah al Kalbi participated in the operations at Khaybar. Yet it was he who was commissioned by the Prophet (P.B.U.H)to go to Heraclius. The Prophet's messenger (P.B.U.H) met Heraclius at the time of the latter's victorious return from the war with Persia and his recapture of the cross which had been taken by the Persians when they occupied Jerusalem. The vow which Heraclius had made, namely, to perform a pilgrimage to Jerusalem on foot and return the cross to its original place, could now be fulfilled. It was on this pilgrimage of Heraclius, specifically when the imperial procession had reached the city of Hims that the message of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was received. Whether Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) letter was handed to the Emperor by one of the latter's employees after Dihyah surrendered it to the Byzantine governor of Bosrā, or whether the group of Muslims headed by Dihyah was granted a court audience at which Dihyah submitted the Prophet's letter (P.B.U.H) in person, is not known for certain. At any rate, it is known that the Prophet's letter (P.B.U.H) did reach Heraclius, and that the Emperor was not irritated by it. Instead of sending an army to conquer Arabia, Heraclius did in fact send a gentle letter in reply to Muhammad's message (P.B.U.H). It was this gentle response to Muhammad's message (P.B.U.H) that a number of historians mistook as meaning that Heraclius had joined the ranks of Islam.

At the same time, al Hārith of Ghassān sent to Heraclius a message to the effect that he had just received a letter from Muhammad (P.B.U.H), a message which Heraclius thought was similar to what he himself had received from the same source calling him to Islam. Al Hārith applied for permission to send an expeditionary force against this new "pretender." Heraclius saw otherwise and instructed al Hārith to come to Jerusalem and attend with him the ceremonies at which the cross would be reinstated. Heraclius was apparently more interested in the pomp

and circumstance of those ceremonies than in the call of a new religion. He could not imagine that only a few years would pass before Jerusalem, as well as the whole of al Sham, would fall under Islamic dominion; that the Islamic capital would move to Damascus; that the struggle between the Islamic state and the Byzantine Empire would not subside until the Muslims had conquered Constantinople in 1453 and converted its great church into a mosque in which the name of that Prophet (P.B.U.H) would be inscribed in honor; and that that same church would remain a mosque for many centuries until the Muslim Turks would change it into a museum of Byzantine art in modern times. Such was to be the influence of this Prophet (P.B.U.H) whose message Heraclius did not think sufficiently worthy to deserve attention.

Delegation to Chosroes

As soon as the message of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was read out to Chosroes, the Emperor of Persia, he went into a rage, destroyed the letter, and dictated an order to his satrap in Yaman commanding him to send forth to the capital the head of his Prophet pretender in al Hijāz. Perhaps he was moved to such a decision out of a need for self-assertion following his defeat by Heraclius. When the Prophet (P.B.U.H) heard of Chosroes's response, he cursed him as well as his empire. Bāzān, the satrap of Yaman, sent his messengers in search of Muhammad (P.B.U.H), in compliance with the command of his emperor. In the meanwhile, however, Chosroes passed away, and his son, Cyrus, ascended the throne. Knowing the news of the accession, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) informed the messengers of Bazan and asked them to carry his call to Islam to Bazan rather than carry out Bāzān's instructions. The people of Yaman had learned of the defeat of Persia and realized that Persian dominion was on

the decline and would soon pass away. They had heard, also, of the victories Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had scored over Quraysh and of his total destruction of Jewish power and dominion. When Bāzān's messengers returned and told their master of Muhammad's response (P.B.U.H), he immediately converted to Islam and accepted Muhammad's appointment (P.B.U.H) as governor of Yaman. But what would Muhammad (P.B.U.H) require of Bāzān, as long as enemy Makkah separated the two? Since he did not have much to fear, but rather everything to gain because Persian dominion was on the wane, and because the new power rising on the horizon of the Peninsula could, in fact, demand of him no price in return, Bazan preferred to enter into friendly relations with Muhammad (P.B.U.H). Possibly, Bazan did not quite appreciate the fact that his joining the ranks of Islam gave the latter a very viable ***point d'appui*** in the south corner of the Peninsula, as events were to show two years later.

Delegation to the Archbishop of Egypt

The Coptic Archbishop of Egypt answered in a radically different way from his superior Heraclius, or from Chosroes. He informed Muhammad (P.B.U.H) of his belief that a Prophet (P.B.U.H) was indeed to appear in the world, but in al Sham. He accorded to Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) messenger a good reception and sent with him a gift to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) consisting of two slave girls, a white mule, a donkey, some money, and a variety of Egyptian products. The two slave girls were Māriyyah, whom Muhammad (P.B.U.H) took in marriage and who gave birth to Ibrahim, and Sirin, who was given in marriage to Hassān ibn Thabit. The mule was given by the Prophet (P.B.U.H) the name of Duldul, for its unique whiteness of skin which the Arabian Peninsula had never seen before. The donkey was called 'Ufayr or Ya'fur. The Archbishop explained that he did not

convert to Islam because of his fear of discharge by his superior, and that were he not a man of authority and power, he would have been rightly guided to the true faith.

Delegation to Abyssinia

It was natural that the answer of the Negus of Abyssinia was favorable, for his country had always been on good terms with the Muslims. Indeed, some historians assert that the Negus was converted to Islam—a claim which the Orientalists suspect very strongly. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) sent to the Negus a second letter asking him to send back the Muslims who had been living in Abyssinia under his protection. The Negus provided these Muslims with two ships that carried them to the shore of Arabia. They were led by Ja'far ibn Abū Talib, and the group included Umm Habibah, Ramlah, daughter of Abū Sufyan and wife of 'Abdullah ibn Jahsh who went to Abyssinia as a Muslim, converted to Christianity and died there a Christian. Following her return from Abyssinia, the same Umm Habibah became one of the wives of the Prophet (P.B.U.H), a "Mother of the Believers." Some historians asserted that the Prophet (P.B.U.H) married her in order to forge a blood relation with the house of Abu Sufyan and to confirm thereby the Treaty of al Hudaybiyah. Other historians saw in the marriage of Umm Habibah to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) an attempt on the part of the latter to punish and annoy Abū Sufyān who was still a pagan.

Explanation to the Kings' Replies

Finally, as for the princes of Arab tribes and regions, it should be recorded that the Amir of Yaman and 'Umān sent the Prophet (P.B.U.H) a very antagonistic answer. The Amir of al

Bahrayn sent a favorable reply and became a Muslim. The Amir of al Yamamah declared his preparation to enter into Islam if his chair and office could be secured. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) cursed him for laying down conditions to his conversion, and the historians assert that the man lived but one year after the event.

The reader might well pause to consider the preponderant friendliness and appreciation which most of the kings and princes showed in response to Muhammad's call (P.B.U.H). None of Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) messengers was killed or imprisoned. Every one of them returned to Madinah with the response with which he had been entrusted.

Some of these messages were coarse and harsh, but most of them were gentle and sweet. Two questions naturally arise: Why did all these kings receive the new religion without seeking to destroy the man who called them to it, and why did they not unite to destroy him? The answer to these questions lies in the fact that the world of those days was, like the world of today, one ***in*** which matter had come to dominate everything, affluence and luxury had become the ***summum bonum,*** and nations fought and destroyed one another for the sake of power and in satisfaction of the ambitions of its king and ruling circles, or in order to increase their affluence and luxury. In such a world, faith deteriorates to mere ritual, and men perform these rituals without believing any of the truths which the rituals were meant to express. In such kingdoms, the masses seldom care but to belong to such regimes as will provide them with ***panem et circencis,*** with wealth and luxury. Under such circumstances, a religion is adhered to only in proportion to the material advantage its practice promises. When such advantage is not in sight, the masses of people quickly lose their attachment, and their power of resistance to another religion evaporates. That is why as soon as these masses heard the voice of the new religion with its strength and simplicity, its call to equality before the one Allah, the only Being worthy of worship and prayer, and the only One

capable of giving true good to man, they began to thirst after the new faith and the spiritual satisfactions it provides. Verily, a ray of Allah's blessing dissipates the fury of all the kings of the earth combined! The fear of His wrath shakes the human soul to its very depths even though the kings of the earth might have smothered that soul in blessings and favors. The hope of Allah's forgiveness moves every man deprived of grace to repent, to believe and to do good works. When the people heard that the author of this new call was capable of vanquishing the enemies who persecuted him and who inflicted upon him and his followers all sorts of injustice and suffering, it was not surprising that they stretched out their necks and lent their ears to see him and hear him. For them to witness Muhammad's victory (P.B.U.H) over all the material forces assembled against him and to see his power grow despite his original weakness, poverty, and deprivation, for them to see this Prophet (P.B.U.H) achieve that which no one else had ever dreamt of achieving—be it in his own town or throughout the Arabian Peninsula—all this was enough b incite them to examine this faith and to want to belong to it. Were it not for their fear of the immediate consequences, most of them would not have kept themselves separated from the truth. Hence, the majority of the sovereigns answered with a consideration and sympathy which reinforced the Muslims' faith and conviction.

Muslim Return from A byssinia

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) returned from Khaybar, and Ja'far and the Muslims returned from Abyssinia. The messengers of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) returned from those lands whither Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had sent them. All of them met again and were reunited in Madinah. Inspiring each of them was the longing to go to Makkah in the following year and to do so in

security, with shaven heads or short hair, and to perform their pilgrimage without fear. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was so pleased to be reunited with Ja'far that he said he could not tell which was the greater: victory over Khaybar or reunion with Ja'far. It was in this period that, according to a certain report, a Jew called Labid charmed Muhammad and put him under a spell. The report is self-contradictory and highly questionable. The claim that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) did anything at any time without consciousness or under a spell is a sheer fabrication and hence devoid of truth.

The Muslims were safe in Madinah where they led a prosperous and affluent life. During this period they thought neither of war nor of fighting despite the fact that they had to send some expeditionary forces to punish those who aggressed upon their lands or seized any of their property. As the year' came to a close, in the month of Dhū al Qi'dah, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) set out with two thousand men to perform the lesser pilgrimage, in accordance with the provisions of the Hudaybiyah Treaty, and to satisfy the Muslim longing to visit the holy sanctuary and to perform the holy ritual.

22

The 'Umrah or Lesser Pilgrimage

The Muslims' March to Makkah

A full year had passed since the Treaty of al Hudaybiyah. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions were accordingly free to enter Makkah and to visit the Ka'bah under the terms of that treaty. The Prophet (P.B.U.H), therefore, proclaimed to the people that they might now prepare themselves to go to Makkah for performance of the lesser pilgrimage. It is easy to appreciate the enthusiasm of the Muslims in response to Muhammad's call (P.B.U.H). Many among them, the Muhājirun, were emigrants from Makkah who had left their hometown seven years ago. Others, the Ansār, conducted wide trade with Makkah and felt great love and loyalty to the holy sanctuary which they longed to visit. Those who responded to Muhammad's call (P.B.U.H) exceeded two thousand in number. Hence, there were six hundred or more than in the previous year. In compliance with the terms of the Hudaybiyah Treaty, none of them carried any arms except his sword which he kept in its scabbard. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) feared treachery. He therefore equipped a hundred cavalrymen and assigned them to Muhammad ibn Maslamah. He instructed them to reconnoiter the fields ahead of the procession

of Muslims but not to tread on the holy ground surrounding Makkah. His order was that they should turn to a nearby valley as soon as they reached the canyon of al Zahrān. The Muslims herded before them the sacrificial animals; the entire procession was led by Muhammad (P.B.U.H) riding his she-camel, al Qaswa'. They set out from Madinah in the direction of Makkah moved by the strongest emotion to circumambulate the House of Allah and to see the places where they were born. Each longed to visit the house and quarter where he had grown up and played as a child. They were quite anxious to visit their old friends whom they had had no opportunity to see during those long years, and, in short, to breathe the air of their dear homeland. The non-Makkan Muslims were equally anxious to see and touch this blessed holy city which had brought out the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) and in which the Revelation of Allah was first heard. One can imagine this great procession of Muslims numbering over two thousand, pushing forward toward Makkah with their hearts practically leaping out of their breasts in exaltation and reverence. At every opportunity, a pilgrim would tell his companion what he knew of Makkah and would recall nostalgically the days of his childhood or youth in that city. He would tell about his friends that were still there and the wealth and property which he had abandoned for the sake of Allahwhen he left it. One can imagine this unique procession animated by faith, indeed bursting with religious enthusiasm, pulling forward toward the universally revered sanctuary. The reader may well imagine the jubilation of this procession of men who for the last seven years had been prevented from performing this sacred duty but who were now certain they could enter Makkah in peace, with shaven head or cut hair, for an opportunity to re-express their loyalty to Allah.

The Quraysh Evacuate the City

The Quraysh learned of the arrival of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions, and they evacuated the whole town as the treaty demanded. They removed themselves with their families to the hills surrounding Makkah where they erected tents for this purpose. Those who could not afford tents spent the time in the shade of trees. From the mountains of Abu Qubays and Hirā' as well as from every mound or hill surrounding Makkah, the Makkans looked down upon their city which appeared to be invaded by this "refugee" and his companions. The Muslims entered the city without resistance, indeed without meeting any Makkans at all, and they poured into the sanctuary. They entered from the north led by Muhammad (P.B.U.H) on the back of al Qaswā' whose reins were held by 'Abdullah ibn Rawāhah. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) was surrounded by his elder companions, and behind him followed the rank and file of Muslims, whether mounted or on foot. When the Holy house came into view, every Muslim tongue was loosened with a single call: "At Your command, O Lord! At Your command, O Lord !" Their hearts and souls were totally turned to Allah, the Lord of Majesty.

Circumambulation of the Sacred House

In surrounding the Prophet (P.B.U.H) the multitudes expressed their hope and reverence to the man whom Allah had sent to convey His guidance and true religion and whom He promised to vindicate against the adherents of all other religions. In truth, it must have been a unique and truly great spectacle, defying history itself. Upon witnessing it, even those most obstinate in their paganism or hostility to Islam were softened and even attracted to the new faith. Such a spectacle simply mesmerized the Makkans. The voice of the Muslims calling, "At

your command, O Lord !" rocked the horizon as well as their ears and hearts. When the Prophet (P.B.U.H) reached the Ka'bah he wrapped his mantle under his right arm, baring his shoulder and praying, "O Allah, have mercy on anyone performing this rite today and showing the enemy a side of his spiritual strength !" He then stopped near the black stone to begin circumambulation of the House. Followed by his companions and going at a trotting pace, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) circumambulated the holy shrine three times, pausing whenever he reached the black stone at each turn. The Muslims, all two thousand of them, followed Muhammad (P.B.U.H) in every move while the Quraysh were looking upon them from the height of Abū Qubays. Undoubtedly, the Quraysh were stupefied by what they saw. Every notion they previously entertained of the Muslims' weakness, exhaustion, and moral bankruptcy was shattered. In the enthusiasm of the moment, 'Abdullah ibn Rawāhah wanted to challenge the Quraysh by shouting a war cry at them. But he was stopped by 'Umar. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) then advised him to recite the following prayer instead: "There is no God but Allah alone. He is always true to His word. He it is Who gave victory to His servant, Who reinforced His army, Who defeated all the allies assembled against His people." Ibn Rawahah recited this prayer at the top of his voice, and the Muslims, in repeating these words after him rocked the horizons thereby and inspired terror in the hearts of all the spectators of this ritual.

The Muslims' Sojourn in Makkah

When the Muslims completed their circumambulation of the Ka'bah, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) led them toward al Safa and al Marwah. There, he covered the distance between the two hills seven times mounted on his camel, just as the Arabs used to do,

and then proceeded to slaughter the sacrificial animals at al Marwah. He then shaved his head and thereby completed the duty of the ***'umrah*** or lesser pilgrimage. On the morrow, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) entered into the Ka'bah and, there remained until noon. Despite the fact that the Ka'bah was still full of idols, Bilal ascended to its top, gave the call to the noon prayer and, led by the Prophet (P.B.U.H), the two thousand Muslims held the noon prayer around the Holy House. It should be remembered that for seven years the Muslims had been prevented from performing their religious functions in the sanctuary. The Muslims remained in Makkah three whole days as the Treaty of Uudaybiyah prescribed, and during these days, not a Makkan remained in town or came to it. The Muslims roamed throught the city without suffering any harm or being obstructed by anyone. The Muhajirun among them visited their old houses, showing them to their Madinese companions, the Ansār, and generally behaving as if they were the real hosts to them. Everyone, by complying with every function Islam prescribed for the day, deepened his Islamic awareness and effaced every trace of pre-Islāmic vanity. The Muslims were charitable to one another, the strong among them helping the weak, the rich giving to the poor, and the Prophet (P.B.U.H) moving among them as a loving and beloved father, meeting the smile of the one, reconciling the other, and teaching the truth to all. The Quraysh and all other Makkans, looking down from their tents on the mountains, pondered the behavior of the Muslims. They observed that the Muslims were extremely good to one another, that they displayed exemplary nobility and morality, never touching intoxicating drink, neither doing evil nor allowing food, drink, or treasure ever to tempt them. They could not be seen disobeying Allah's commandments even once. What effect did such a spectacle have on the Makkans? What could they think of this new religion which raised man to the greatest heights of spirituality and virtue possible? It is easy for the

reader to appreciate the awe and admiration for Islam all this inspired. Only a few months later, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) returned at the head of an army of ten thousand Muslims; but Makkah opened its gates without a struggle.

Muhammad's(P.B.U.H) Marriage to Maymūnah

Umm al Fadl, the wife of al 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al Muttalib, the uncle of the Prophet (P.B.U.H), had been asked by her sister MaymUnah to be her agent in seeking a husband. Maymūnah was twenty-six years old, and she was the aunt of Khalid ibn al Walid. Umm al Fadl delegated her function to her husband al 'Abbās. When Maymūnah saw the Muslims performing the ***'umrah,*** she was attracted to Islam and permitted al 'Abbas to talk to Muhammad (P.B.U.H), his nephew, on the subject of marrying her. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) agreed and offered her four hundred Dirhams in dowry. In the meantime, the three days prescribed by the pact of al Hudaybiyah had passed. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) sought to make of his marriage to Maymunah an occasion to consolidate the mutual understanding between him and the Quraysh which the Hudaybiyah Treaty had brought about. When Suhayl ibn 'Amr and Huwaytib ibn 'Abd al 'Uzzā, delegates of the Quraysh, came to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and asked him to leave the city because the time allowed by the treaty had expired, Muhammad asked them that his marriage be performed in Makkah, and invited Quraysh to attend both the ceremony and the banquet which the Muslims would prepare for the occasion. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) issued this invitation to them knowing very well the powerful reconciliatory effect his performance of the pilgrimage ritual had had on the hearts of the Quraysh. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) sought to further this feeling by having them participate in a joyous occasion, one which would undoubtedly furnish the Makkans with further evidence of

Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) sincerity and love of peace. He had hoped that if he could talk to them leisurely and in an atmosphere such as a wedding ceremony and banquet would provide, he could further allay their fears and, perhaps, Makkah would then open its gate and heart freely to its Muslim children. That was precisely what Suhayl and Huwaytib feared in Muhammad's invitation (P.B.U.H). Hence, they answered: "No, we do not need your food. Please evacuate our city forthwith." Muhammad (P.B.U.H) did not hesitate to comply with their request because it complied with the terms of the Treaty, and he called his men to prepare for withdrawal to Madinah. He led the exodus of the Muslims out of Makkah, leaving behind him his client Abū Rāfi' to take care of Maymunah and to accompany her on her trip northwards. Maymunah joined the Muslim group at Sarif outside of Makkah, where Muhammad (P.B.U.H) married her. Maymunah hence became a "Mother of the Believers,' and the last wife of the Prophet (P.B.U.H). She survived him by fifty years, and before she died she asked to be buried at the site of her wedding. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) took under his care the two sisters of Maymñnah, namely Salmā, widow of his uncle Hamzah, and Imārah al Bikr, who never married.

Conversion of Khālid ibn al Walid and Others

The Muslims returned to their residence in Madinah. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) did not doubt that the pilgrimage which he and his companions had just performed had made the greatest possible favorable effect upon the Quraysh and all the Makkans. The subsequent days proved Muhammad's expectations (P.B.U.H). Indeed, as soon as the Muslims had left Makkah, Khālid ibn al Walid, the greatest soldier of the Quraysh and the hero of the Battle of Uhud, said to his fellow Makkans: "It has become absolutely clear to any person with the least intelligence

that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) is neither a poet possessed nor a magician inspired. His words are truly the words of Allah, of the Lord of the Universe. It follows then that every man with common sense ought to follow him." 'Ikrimah ibn Abū Jahl was alarmed when he heard Khālid say this and said to him in reply: "O Khālid, you have been brainwashed." Khālid answered, "Neither brainwashed nor intoxicated, but simply Islamized." 'Ikrimah said: "By Allah, if any man in Quraysh ought not to say what you have just said, it is you." Khalid asked, "Why?" and 'Ikrimah answered: "Because Muhammad (P.B.U.H) stained your father's honor when he wounded him and when he killed your uncle and his son in the Battle of Badr. By Allah, I will never allow myself to be Islamized, nor will I ever allow myself to say such words as you did. Don't you see that the Quraysh are all ready to fight Muhammad (P.B.U.H) ?" To this Khālid replied: "All you say is ignorant, tribalistic, and shows only the prejudices of pre-Islām. But now I am a Muslim and the whole truth lies clear before my eyes." Khālid sent to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) his own mares together with a message that he had accepted Islam and acknowledged Muhammad as the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H).

When Abū Sufyan learned of the conversion of Khālid, he sent for him enquiring whether or not it was true. When Khālid answered in the affirmative, Abū Sufyan flew into a rage and said: "By al Lat and al 'Uzza, if I were certain I heard you right, I would kill you before I kill Muhammad." To which Khalid replied, "By God it is the truth, and you have heard right. Let the consequences be what they may !" Abū Sufyan rushed toward him but was stopped by 'Ikrimah who witnessed the conversation. The latter said to Abū Sufyān: "Slowly! By Allah I, too, would have said exactly what Khalid has just said, and would have joined his faith, had I not feared the crumbling of the Quraysh. Now, you seek to kill Khalid because of a view he has just adopted while the whole of Quraysh has invested him with

leadership. I fear that hardly a season will pass before the whole of Makkah will follow their leader in his new faith." Khālid left Makkah and came to Madinah where he joined the ranks of the Muslims.

After Khālid, 'Amr ibn al 'As and 'Uthman ibn Talhah, the guardian of the Ka'bah, converted to Islam. Many Makkans followed them after hearing of their conversion to the religion of truth. With their entry, the power of Islam grew considerably and the conquest of Makkah by Muhammad (P.B.U.H) became a future certainty.

23

The Campaign of Mu'tah

Skirmishes before the Campaign

Knowing that time was on his side, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was in no hurry to conquer Makkah. The Treaty of Hudaybiyah was hardly more than a year old, and nothing had happened to warrant its abrogation. Being a man of his word who never failed to honor a promise, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was satisfied to return to Madinah and wait for his time in peace. During the few months that followed his return, a few skirmishes took place. He sent five men to Banu Sulaym for the sole purpose of teaching them Islam, and he endured their cold-blooded murder by their hosts. Only their leader managed to escape, and he did so purely accidentally. He also sent fifteen men to Dhāt al Talh on the outskirts of al Sham in order to call its people to Islam. There, too, the messengers of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and missionaries of the faith were put to death in cold blood. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) also sent some of his men to the Banu al Layth which they successfully raided, bringing back both captives and booty. He also sent a force to punish the Banū Murrah for their previous treachery. Al Sham and the whole northern district were of particular concern to the Prophet (P.B.U.H), especially since he

had already secured the south through the Treaty of Hudaybiyah and the conversion of the governor of Yaman. The Prophet looked upon the north as the gateway to the spread of Islam beyond the frontiers of the Arabian Peninsula. Al Sham and the adjoining territories were the first object of his mission beyond Arabia. Consequently, only a few months after his return to Madinah he readied an army of three thousand fighters, some of whom had previously fought at Mu'tah, for possible deployment in the north. According to other versions, the number of the men involved was one or two hundred thousand.

Causes of the Campaign

Historians differ in explaining the expedition against Mu'tah. Some give the murder of Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) companions at Dhat al Talh as the cause. Others relate that the Prophet (P.B.U.H) had sent a messenger to the Byzantine governor of Busrā, that this messenger was killed by a tribesman of Ghassān in the name of Heraclius, and that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) sent this force as a punitive expedition against that governor and the empire he represented.

Just as the Treaty of Hudaybiyah was the forerunner of the pilgrimage, and this in turn of the conquest of Makkah, so was the campaign against Mu'tah an introduction to Tabuk, and this, in turn, to the conquest of al Sham which took place shortly after the Prophet's death (P.B.U.H). It is immaterial whether or not the cause which led to the conquest of Mu'tah was the murder of the Prophet's messenger (P.B.U.H) to the governor of Busrā or that of the fifteen missionaries he had sent to Dhāt al Talh. The fact is that the Prophet (P.B.U.H) called up in the month of Jumāda I of the year 8 A.H. (629 C.E.), three thousand of his best men and appointed Zayd ibn Harithah as their leader. In the event of Zayd's fall, Ja'far ibn Abu Talib was to assume

command of the army. In the event of Ja'far's death, 'Abdullah ibn Rawāhah was to take his place. Khālid ibn al Walld, the recent convert from Makkah, volunteered to join this expedition in order to prove his loyalty to the new faith. The people of Madinah bid the army farewell, and Muhammad (P.B.U.H) saw them off at the outskirts of the city. He commanded them not to kill any women, children, or invalids, and not to destroy either houses or trees. Together with his companions, he prayed for them: "May Allah be with you! May He shield you with His protection, and may He bring you back to us safe, sound, and victorious." Most of the leaders of this army thought to surprise their enemy, as the Prophet (P.B.U.H) had done on previous occasions, and thus to achieve a quick victory and return home with the spoils of war. They advanced till they reached Ma'ān in the territory of al Sham without knowing what lay ahead of them.

Byzantine Mobilization

However, the news of their march preceded them. Shurahbil, Heraclius's commissioner in al Sham, mobilized all the tribes around him and sent word to Heraclius asking for more Greek and Arab armies. Some historians assert that Heraclius himself came over with his armies and camped in Ma'āb (Moab), in al Balqa', with one hundred thousand Byzantine soldiers. They also relate that another hundred thousand men joined his main force from Lakhm, Judham, al Qayn, Bahrā', and Baliyy. It is also related that Theodorus, Heraclius's brother, rather than Heraclius himself, was the leader of this army. While the Muslims were at Ma'ān, they heard of this mobilization, and for two days and nights they did not know what to do. One of them advised that a message be sent to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) informing him of the force of the enemy and asking him for more men or for other

orders. This counsel was about to receive unanimous approval when 'Abdullah ibn Rawāhah, who was as proud and chivalrous as he was eloquent in poetry, rose and said: "O people! By Allah, that which you fear might happen to you is precisely why you came here— namely, martyrdom. We Muslims do not fight either with numbers, physical strength, or material equipment. Our only power lies in this religion which Allah has been gracious enough to give to us. Rise to battle and march forward! One of the two greatest blessings must befall you: either victory or martyrdom." The bravery of this eloquent poet was contagious, and soon the whole army reverberated with the same war cry. Everybody approved of ibn Rawāhah's counsel. They marched forward toward al Palqā' and a village called Mashārif, where the Byzantine armies were encamped. When the enemy attacked, the Muslims withdrew to the village of Mu'tah which presented to them strategic advantages, and they fortified their position. It was there that the battle was fought by three thousand Muslims against some one or two hundred thousand of the enemy.

Fall of the Martyrs

The majesty of religious conviction! The sublimity of the strength of faith! Zayd ibn Hārithah raised the banner of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and marched forward toward the enemy. He plunged deep into their ranks fully certain of the death that awaited him. But to die under such conditions is precisely to fall a martyr in the cause of Allah. Martyrdom is not one whit lesser a blessed fate than victory. Zayd fought desperately until he was torn apart by enemy arrows. Ja'far ibn Abu Talib, then a brave man of thirty-three, picked up the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) banner and fought valiantly until his horse was completely surrounded by enemy soldiers. When his horse fell under him, he pressed

ever forward on foot to cut the enemy ranks down with the sword. He was carrying the banner in his right hand. When it was cut off, he picked up the banner with his left; and when he lost his left hand, he kept the banner high by pressing it between his legs until he died. It is related that a Byzantine soldier struck him with his sword and cut him in two. At the death of Ja'far, Ibn Rawāhah seized the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) banner, mounted on his mare but hesitated to advance toward the enemy's lines. His mind being braver than his will, he composed the following verses to encourage himself: "O Soul, I have sworn that you will fight in battle deliberately, or that I shall force you to fight. When people assemble and shout the war cry, why do you not advance with them? Or do you hate to enter Paradise?" Aroused by his own eloquence, he drew his sword, plunged into the thick of battle and fought valiantly until he died.

The three commanders, Zayd, Ja'far, and ibn Rawāhah, all fell as martyrs in the cause of Allah in the first engagement. When the Prophet (P.B.U.H) learned of their death, he was extremely sad. He said of them that they were lifted to Paradise on thrones of pure gold, just as men see in their dreams. He pointed out that in his vision of the three martyrs, he noticed the throne of 'Abdullah ibn Rawahah hovering in the heights and not rising as rapidly as the other two; upon enquiry he was told that the other two advanced straight forward whereas 'Abdullah hesitated. What sound advice and good counsel the Prophet (P.B.U.H) meant to give! Surely, he meant to impress upon the Muslims that the believer should not hesitate or fear to die in the cause of Allah, but rather he should carry his life on his palm ever ready to lay it down when he marches forward in the cause of Allah and homeland. He should firmly realize that his fate is either to succeed and realize that cause or to fall martyr and give the supreme example to posterity. In martyrdom lies a final and lasting memory that one has deemed the value of life to be wholly in that for which the sacrifice had taken place; that

tenacity to life in humiliation and subjection is indeed a betrayal and destruction of life. To hold the contrary is, in fact, to lose the right to be counted among the living. Likewise, the man who exposes himself to the danger of death but does so for a mean cause; or saves his life from the danger of death when Allah, the Lord of Majesty, calls upon him to lay down that life in the cause of truth, has already met his death—but in ignominy. If the slight hesitation of ibn Rawāhah merited for him a place inferior to that of Zayd and Ja'far despite the fact that he still fought and laid down his life as a martyr; if, in short, he was unworthy of the reward of those who plunge into the thick of battle and fly to martyrdom with joy, what would be the fate of one who retraced his steps and withdrew altogether in order to save his life or to attain the advantage of wealth or glory? His is surely the fate of a miserable insect, no matter how great his glory among the multitudes, or how Abūndant his wealth. Is the human soul capable of any joy greater than that which sacrifice for the sake of conviction brings? Is man capable of any nobler fate than that of martyrdom in the cause of truth?

Ibn al Walid's Strategy

Upon the death of ibn Rawāhah, Thabit ibn Arqam, a tribesman of Banū 'Ajlān, picked up the Prophet's banner (P.B.U.H) and asked the Muslims to appoint a leader. Many nominated him, but he declined. The people then asked Khalid ibn al Walid to assume command. Khalid accepted despite the disintegration of Muslim power and the disorganization of their ranks. Making full use of his great military experience and unique wisdom and foresight in battle, he first commanded the Muslims to reorganize their ranks and recoup their forces. He allowed only skirmishes with the enemy in order to gain time. Soon night came and the two armies disengaged until the following

morning. During the night, Khālid carefully laid out his plan. He sent a number of men toward the rear deploying them in such a way as to give the impression the next morning that massive reinforcements from Madinah were arriving to join the battle. The ruse worked. Recalling their losses and the Muslims' fierce acts of war on the previous day, the Byzantines decided to abandon the battlefield. The Muslims, pleased by the withdrawal of the enemy, withdrew toward Madinah. It was a battle in which the Muslims were not victorious. Neither did they lose.

Muslim Disappointment and Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) Assurance

As soon as Khālid and the army reached Madinah, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and the Muslims went out to meet them, Muhammad (P.B.U.H)carrying on his arm 'Abdullah, the son of Ja'far, the second commander of the Muslim force. Upon learning of the news, the people flung dust in the face of the Muslim soldiers and accused them of fleeing in the face of the enemy and abandoning the cause of Allah. The Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) argued with his people that the soldiers did not flee but simply withdrew in order, with Allah's will, to advance again. Despite this justification on the part of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) of the Muslim army, the people were not willing to forgive them their withdrawal and return. Salāmah ibn Hishām, a member of this expedition, would neither go to the mosque for prayer nor show himself in public in order to avoid being chastized for fleeing from the cause of Allah. Were it not for the fact that these same men, especially Khālid ibn al Walid, later distinguished themselves in battle against the same enemy, their reputations would have remained forever stained.

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was deeply saddened by the death of Zayd and Ja'far. After hearing the sad news, he went to the

latter's house where his wife, Asmā', daughter of Umays, had baked her bread, washed and dressed up her children, and awaited the return of her husband. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) embraced Ja'far's children and cried. Asmā' immediately grasped what the Prophet (P.B.U.H)was about to say to her and said: "O Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), woe to me if you should cry! Have you heard any news about Ja'far and his companions ?" The Prophet (P.B.U.H) answered: "Yes indeed, and they have fallen this very day." The Prophet (P.B.U.H) cried and sobbed and Asmā' began to cry and shout in mourning. Before leaving the house, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) commanded the people who assembled to take care of Ja'far's family and to provide food for them. Upon meeting the daughter of his client, Zayd, he picked her up and cried on her shoulder. When those who saw them expressed astonishment, he explained to them that it was all too natural. The martyrs were not only his people, but his own personal friends.

According to one version, the remains of Ja'far were carried to Madinah where he was buried three days after the return of Khālid and the army. On that day, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) commanded the Muslims to stop mourning their lost ones. To reassure the bereaved relatives, he announced that Allah had given Ja'far, instead of the two arms he lost on the battlefield, two wings with which to fly to Paradise.

The Campaign of Dhāt al Salāsil

A few weeks after the return of Khālid, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) sought to make up the losses in Muslim prestige in the northern parts of the Peninsula which the previous engagement with the Byzantines had caused. He therefore commissioned 'Amr ibn al 'As to rouse the Arabs to march against al Sham. He chose 'Amr for this task because the latter's mother belonged to one of the

northern tribes, and he hoped that 'Amr could use this connection to facilitate his mission. As he arrived at a well called al Salāsil, in the land of Judham, fearing the enemy might overtake him, he sent word to the Prophet asking for more forces. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) sent Abu 'Ubaydah ibn al Jurrāh at the head of a corps of Muhajirun which included Abu Bakr and 'Umar. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) feared that 'Amr, new as he was in his conversion to Islam, might disagree with Abu 'Ubaydah, one of the earliest and, oldest among the Muhājirūn. He therefore advised Abu 'Ubayah when he assigned to him the leadership of the expedition not to disagree with 'Amr. When Abu 'Ubaydah and his men joined forces with 'Amr, the latter reminded Abū 'Ubaydah that he had come not as a commander but only as a relief force to operate under 'Amr's command. Abu 'Ubaydah was a very affable, ascetic, and humble man, and he instantly assured 'Amr that he stood nnder the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) commandment to obey 'Amr at all costs and under all circumstances. 'Amr led the army in prayer as well as in battle. With his reinforcements, he not only engaged the enemy but dispersed and routed them, thereby recovering the Muslim prestige lost in the campaign of Mu'tah.

At the same time, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was thinking of Makkah and of its affairs. In this regard, he was bound by the Treaty of Hudaybiyah for two years, and he meant to abide by its terms. Therefore, the only engagements he allowed his forces in the south were small skirmishes designed merely to calm down the tribes inclined toward rebellion. This was not difficult to do, and many delegations were already arriving in Madinah from all corners of Arabia to declare their conversion. It was during this interval that the Quraysh violated the Treaty of Hudaybiyah, thereby triggering the chain of events which led to the conquest of Makkah and the establishment of Islam therein. Unlike any other conquest, the Muslim conquest of Makkah conferred upon it the greatest sanctity ever enjoyed by any city.



24

The Conquest of Makkah

Effects of the Previous Campaign

After the Campaign of Mu'tah, the Muslim army led by Khālid ibn al Walid returned to Madinah neither victorious nor vanquished, but happy to be able to return at all. Their return affected the Byzantines, the Muslims of Madinah, and the Quraysh in the most diverse ways. The Byzantines were glad that the Muslim army, despite its small size compared to their one or two hundred thousand, had withdrawn; and they gave thanks that the war did not last long. Regardless of whether the satisfaction of the Byzantines was due to the cessation of a war so fierce that nine swords had fallen apart in Khālid ibn al Walid's hand, or to that of a war fought with such strategy that untold forces were thought to reinforce the Muslim army, the tribes living in the outskirts of al Sham were]eft stupefied in admiration of the Muslim exploit. Farwah ibn 'Amr al Judhami, commander of a Byzantine army division, was at the same time chieftain of one of those tribes. Soon after Mu'tah, he proclaimed his conversion to Islam. He was arrested by order of Heraclius and accused of high treason; however, he was told that Heraclius would let him go free if he were to repent and return to

Christianity. Indeed, he was promised the return to his position as army commander. Farwah refused and insisted on following the faith of Islam and was hence put to death. As a result of his execution, Islam spread widely among the tribes adjoining al 'Iraq and al Sham under Byzantine suzerainty.

Spread of Islam in the North

The chaos and insecurity attending the Byzantine Empire further encouraged the people to convert to the new faith of Islam. Its situation was truly chaotic. Entrusted by the emperor with paying the members of the armed forces their wages, one of Heraclius' governors discharged the soldiers with the announcement that the emperor had no money. Adding insult to injury, he said: "My Emperor has neither money nor food to distribute among his dogs." It was natural that such men would become disillusioned regarding Heraclius and his state and that the new order of Islam would shine with more brilliant light in their eye. It is no wonder that such men felt more inclined to it and thus followed the new guidance to divine truth. The foregoing explains, though necessarily only in part, the conversion to Islam of thousands from the tribe of Sulaym, under the leadership of al 'Abbas ibn Mirdas; of the tribes of Ashja' and Ghatafān, the old allies of the vanquished Jews of Khaybar; and of those of 'Abs, Dhubyan and Fazārah. Thus, it may be said that the campaign of Mu'tah caused the consolidation of the Muslim front north of Madinah all the way to the frontiers of al Sham.

The effect of that Campaign upon the morale of the Muslims in Madinah, however, was different. We may recall that as soon as Khalid and the army returned to Madinah without the proofs of victory, they were called deserters. Many soldiers and commanders felt so humiliated that they stayed at home in order not to be seen and insulted in public. The campaign of Mu'tah gave

the Quraysh the impression that the Muslims and their power had now been destroyed and that both their dignity and the fear they previously inspired in others had all but disappeared. This made the Quraysh incline strongly to the conditions prevalent before the Treaty of Hudaybiyah. They thought that they could now launch a war against which the Muslims were incapable of defending themselves, not to speak of counterattacking or making retaliation.

Quraysh's Violation of Her Treaty

The Treaty of Hudaybiyah prescribed that any non-Makkans wishing to join the camp of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) or that of the Quraysh may do so without obstruction. On the basis of this provision, the tribe of Khuza'ah joined the ranks of Muhammad (P.B.U.H), and that of Banu Bakr joined the Quraysh. Between Khuzā'ah and Banū Bakr a number of old unsettled blood feuds had to be suspended on account of the new arrangement. With the Quraysh now believing that Muslim power had crumbled, Banū al Dil, a clan of Banū Bakr, thought that the occasion had come to avenge themselves aganist Khuzā'ah. In this, they were encouraged by Quraysh, especially by 'Ikrimah ibn Abu Jahl and others who furnished them with arms and equipment. While Khuza'ah tribesmen were camping one day near a well of theirs called al Watir, Banu Bakr launched a surprise attack against them. The Khuzā'ah party fled to Makkah and took refuge in the house of Budayl ibn Warqa', complaining that the Quraysh and their Banū Bakr allies violated their treaty with the Prophet (P.B.U.H). After running in full haste toward Madinah, 'Amr ibn Sālim al Khuzā'i related to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and the Muslims in the mosque what had happened and asked for assistance. The Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) answered:

"Certainly, O 'Amr ibn Salim, we shall come to your

rescue." Another group of Khuzā'ah tribesmen followed him to Madinah together with their Makkan host, Budayl ibn Warqa', and confirmed their predecessor's report. Realizing that this flagrant violation by the Quraysh of their treaty was forcing his hand to conquer Makkah, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) sent word to the Muslims all over the Peninsula to mobilize at once. The objective, however, he kept as a secret.

Quraysh's Fears

The wise elders of Quraysh realized the danger to which 'Ikrimah and his youthful companions had exposed Makkah for their action was a clear violation of the Hudaybiyah Treaty. Should Muhammad (P.B.U.H) decide to avenge his Khuzā'ah allies against the Makkans, the holy city would be exposed to the strongest danger. What should they do? It occurred to them to send Abū Sufyan to Madinah to reaffirm the peace treaty and seek a prolongation of its two year term to ten. Abū Sufyan, chief statesman and leader of Makkah, proceeded to Madinah to conduct negotiations. On his way there, he met Budayl ibn Warqā' and his companions near 'Usfān, and feared that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) might have preceded him to this place with an army bent on revenge, thus making his mission all the more difficult. Budayl denied that he had seen Muhammad (P.B.U.H) before, but the shrewd Abū Sufyān could tell from the refuse of Budayl's horse that he had recently been in Madinah. He therefore decided that upon arrival to Madinah, he had better see his daughter, Umm Habibah, the Prophet's wife (P.B.U.H), rather than Muhammad (P.B.U.H) himself.

The Failure of Abu Sufyān's Efforts

Umm Habibah knew well the Prophet's emotions (P.B.U.H)

regarding the Quraysh, though she did not know of his plans for Makkah. Such was the case with all Muslims in Madinah. Entering into his daughter's quarters, Abū Sufyān was about to sit upon the mattress of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) when Umm Habibah moved it away. When he asked her whether she had done so in order to save her father from the mattress or the mattress from her father, she replied: "This is the mattress of the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) You are an associationist and hence impure. You may not therefore be allowed to sit on the Prophet's mattress (P.B.U.H)." Abu Sufyān was enraged by this reply and left the house, saying to his daughter, "By Allah, after you left my house, you must have become utterly mad." His strategy exposed, he proceeded to see Muhammad (P.B.U.H). The Prophet (P.B.U.H), however, refused to give him an audience. Abū Sufyan decided to go to Abu Bakr and ask him to intervene with the Prophet (P.B.U.H). Again, his request was turned down. He then approached 'Umar ibn al Khattāb, who rejected him with the harsh rebuke: "Do you expect me to intervene with the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) for you? By Allah, if nothing is left for me but the sand of the desert, I will still fight you." Abu Sufyān went to 'Ali ibn Abu Tālib and talked to him in the presence of his wife Fātimah. 'Ali spoke to him gently and apologized that nobody could change the mind of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) once it was made up. Finally, the mighty delegate of Quraysh begged Fātimah to allow him to use her son, al Hasan, in his search for support among the people of Madinah as a means of convincing Muhammad (P.B.U.H) to prolong the peace. Fatimah answered that nobody could dissuade the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) by this method. As the gates closed in the face of Abu Sufyān one after another, he returned to 'Ali and sought his advice. 'Ali replied that he knew of no measure which would alleviate the situation. He told him, however, that since he was the chief of Banū Kinanah, he could invoke his own tribal connections for a while and quickly return home. 'Ali informed

Abū Sufyan that he did not think even that measure would work but that Abu ***Sufyān*** could turn to it ***foute de mieuz.*** Abu Sufyan went to the Mosque and there broclaimed on behalf of his tribe his willingness to make peace with the people. He then mounted his horse and returned to Makkah. His heart was full of sorrow and his pride badly wounded, partly by his own daughter and partly by the rejection of those who, prior to their emigration from Makkah, had longed for the least bit of consideration or compassion from the great and mighty leader.

Abu Sufyān returned to Makkah and reported to his people the frustration of his efforts. He informed them of his proclamation in the Mosque of Madinah and of Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) refusal to come to any terms of peace. The Makkans chastized him for allowing himself to be so contemptuously treated and continued their deliberations on the fate of their city.

Muslim Preparations for War

It was Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) plan not to give the Quraysh the time to prepare for war. Armed by his confidence in Muslim power and in Allah's assistance, he sought to surprise the enemy before they could build up their defenses. His aim was to conquer without bloodshed. He therefore first commanded the people to get ready and informed them of his plans for Makkah later. He asked the Muslims to hurry and prayed that Quraysh would not find out his plan before it was too late.

While the Muslim army prepared to leave Madinah, Hatib ibn Abū Balta'ah wrote a letter informing the Quraysh about the Muslim move and gave it to a woman called Sarah, a client of some members of the house of Banu 'Abd al Muttalib. He commanded her to take it to Makkah and to hand it over to the Quraysh leaders. Hātib was one of the foremost Muslims. How then could he now turn informant for the enemy? Apparently,

there are sides of the human soul which remain weak despite the great strength achieved by other sides, and man remains forever at the mercy of his weaknesses despite his conscious effort to overcome them. At any rate, Muhammad (P.B.U.H), soon learned of Hātib's attempt and sent 'Ali ibn Abu Talib and al Zubayr ibn al 'Awwām to intercept the messenger. The latter was arrested and her horse and saddle searched, but no letter was found. 'Ali threatened her that unless she produced the letter voluntarily, he would be forced to search her own person and to unveil her body in the process. When the woman realized how serious 'Ali was, she unloosened her pigtails, brought out the letter and handed it over to 'Ali. The woman was returned to Madinah, and Hātib was called to account. In his own defense, Hatib said: "O Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), by Allah I swear that I am still a believer in Allah and in His Prophet (P.B.U.H). My faith has not changed by one jot or tittle. But I am a man here in the Muslim camp devoid of relatives, family or clan, whereas in Makkah, I have children, family, and relatives whom I want no evil to befall." Upon hearing his reply, Umar ibn al Khattāb asked the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) permission to strike his neck on the grounds that he had apostatized. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) answered: "O 'Umar, perhaps Allah has looked favorably on the men who fought at Badr and has permitted them to do whatever they wish; for their merit with Allah is truly great." Hātib was one of those who fought at Badr. In this connection, the following verse was revealed:

﴿ يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا۟ لَا تَتَّخِذُوا۟ عَدُوِّى وَعَدُوَّكُمْ أَوْلِيَآءَ
تُلْقُونَ إِلَيْهِم بِٱلْمَوَدَّةِ وَقَدْ كَفَرُوا۟ بِمَا جَآءَكُم مِّنَ ٱلْحَقِّ يُخْرِجُونَ
ٱلرَّسُولَ وَإِيَّاكُمْ ۙ أَن تُؤْمِنُوا۟ بِٱللَّهِ رَبِّكُمْ إِن كُنتُمْ خَرَجْتُمْ جِهَٰدًا فِى

سَبِيلِى وَٱبْتِغَآءَ مَرْضَاتِى ۚ تُسِرُّونَ إِلَيْهِم بِٱلْمَوَدَّةِ وَأَنَا۠ أَعْلَمُ بِمَآ أَخْفَيْتُمْ وَمَآ أَعْلَنتُمْ ۚ وَمَن يَفْعَلْهُ مِنكُمْ فَقَدْ ضَلَّ سَوَآءَ ٱلسَّبِيلِ ﴿١﴾

سورة الممتحنة آية ١

(O you who believe! Take not My enemies and yours as friends (or protectors), offering them (your) love, even though they have rejected the Truth that has come to you, and have (on the contrary) driven out the Messenger and yourselves (from your homes), (simply) because you believe in Allah your Lord! If you have come out to strive in My Way and to Seek My Good Pleasure, showing friendship unto them in secret: for I know full well all that you conceal and all that you reveal. And any of you that does this has strayed from the Straight Path.) (Al-Mumtahanah: 1)

The Muslims' March on Makkah

The Muslim army proceeded from Madinah to Makkah bent upon conquering that city and seizing the sanctuary which Allah had declared a place of peace, security, and religious sanctification to all mankind. This army had more men than Madinah had ever seen before, since the tribes of Sulaym, Muzaynah, Ghatafan, and others had joined the Muhajirun and the Ansar in such numbers and with such armaments that the wide expanses of the desert were filled with them. As the force moved forward it covered the desert from horizon to horizon and no end of it could be seen. They moved fast, and at every station many more tribes joined their ranks and added to their armaments and equipment. Every soul was filled with the faith of Islam and

entertained no doubt that Allah's help will bring them victory. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) led this army at the forefront. His greatest concern was to seize the holy house without shedding any unnecessary blood. By the time the army arrived at al Zahrān, four miles from Makkah, its number had reached ten thousand. Until then, the Quraysh knew nothing about it, and its leaders continued to consult with one another, to agree and to disagree regarding the measures to be taken by them to meet Muslim anger. Al 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al Muttalib, uncle of the Prophet (P.B.U.H), withdrew from the conversation of the Quraysh leaders, took all members of his family, and went out in the direction of Madinah. At al Juhfah he met Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and converted to Islam. it is rather likely that a group of the Banū Hashim heard a rumor regarding the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) new expedition and sought to join him before the battle began. Two other Makkans came to join the ranks of the Muslims at Niq al 'Uqab, both cousins of the Prophet (P.B.U.H): Abū Sufyān ibn al Hārith ibn 'Abd al Muttalib and 'Abdullah ibn Abu Umayyah ibn al Mughirah. The Prophet (P.B.U.H), however, refused to grant them their request, replying to Umm Salamah, who approached him on their behalf, that he had no need for either cousin. The first had previously injured the Prophet (P.B.U.H), and the second, the Prophet's brother-in-law, had broadcast all sorts of libels and calumnies about him. When a report of the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) decision reached the ears of Abu Sufyan, he swore that either Muhammad (P.B.U.H) would grant him this permission or he would take his son and strike out aimlessly into the desert and perish of thirst and hunger. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) felt compassion toward him and his son, and permitted them to be received within the Muslim ranks. They entered his audience and were converted to Islam.

Al 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al Muttalib saw that the armies of his nephew were disturbingly preponderant in power and numbers. Although a Muslim, he felt quite apprehensive for what might

befall his own native city should this hitherto unrivalled army advance on it with hostile intention. After all, the city he had just left behind was full of his own people, friends and relatives, and he did not consider those relationships terminated by his entry into Islam. Perhaps he intimated some of these fears to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) when he asked, "What would the Prophet (P.B.U.H) do in case Quraysh asked for a guarantee of its own security?" And perhaps Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was pleased that al 'Abbās had broached the subject with him. It might even be conjectured that the Prophet (P.B.U.H) thought of using al 'Abbās as a delegate to the Quraysh that his apprehensiveness might be transmitted to the Makkans. Such measure would prevent the shedding of blood and enable the Muslims to enter Makkah without war. The sanctity of the city would thus be saved and its picture in the Arab mind as a place of security, refuge, and peace would he preserved. In fact, al 'Abbās was soon sent back to Makkah, riding on the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) own white mule. When he approached the locality of al Aräk, al 'Abbās looked for anyone from Makkah, be it a lumberman or herdsmen, with whom he ***might*** send a message informing the Makkan leadership of the Muslim's preponderant armies and advising them to come out to meet the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and reconcile themselves to him before he should take Makkah by storm.

Abū Sufyan's Audience with the Prophet (P.B.U.H)

The Quraysh, for their part, felt gravely apprehensive ever since the Muslims arrived at al Zahrān. They sent Abu Sufyan, Budayl ibn Warqa', and Hakim ibn Hazzam, the relative of Khadijah, to reconnoiter the field and assess the danger. While riding in the area on the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) white mule, al 'Abbas overheard a conversation between Abu Sufyān and

Budayl ibn Warqa'. To Abu Sufyan's exclamation that he had never seen any lights or encampments as wide and great as those which he had just beheld that night, Budayl answered that the said lights and encampments must belong to Khuza'ah tribe, now aroused to do battle. Abu Sufyan rejected this view of Budayl, affirming that Khuza'ah was known to be much fewer in number and much poorer than to afford all such lights and camps. Overhearing the voice of Aba Sufyan and recognizing it for what it was, al 'Abbas called out to him using his title "Abu Nanzalah". Abū Sufyan, who recognized the voice, answered by using the title of al 'Abbas, "Abu al Fadl". Al 'Abbās said: "Watch out, O Abū Sufyan! What you see is the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) leading his people. Woe to the Quraysh tomorrow morning, when his armies storm their city." Abu Sufyan answered: "Oh the misery of it! What shall we do?" Al 'Abbās invited him to mount on his mule, sent his companions back to Makkah and returned with him to the Muslim camp. As the Muslims recognized the mule of the Prophet (P.B.U.H), they let it pass unhurt with Abū Sufyan on its back. It ran between rows of thousands of Muslims who had built enormous bonfires. As the mule passed by the fire of 'Umar ibn al Khattāb, 'Umar recognized Abū Sufyan and surmised that al 'Abbās was about to take Abu Sufyān under his protection. He hurried to the tent of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and asked the latter to permit him to strike the neck of Abu Sufyan. Al 'Abbās entered the tent of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) saying: "O Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) I have extended my protection to this man on account of the urgent need of this hour of the night." After what must have been a hot discussion between 'Umar and al 'Abbās, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) said: "O 'Abbās. take your guest to your tent and bring him over in the morning."

On the next day, Abū Sufyan was brought to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and, in front of a court composed of the elders of the Muhājirūn and al Ansār, the following conversation took place.

Addressing himself to Abū Sufyan, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) said: "Is it not time for you to know that there is no God but Allah, O Abū Sufyān?" Abū Sufyān answered: "How great, noble, and generous you are, O Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) ! By Allah I swear that if Allah had an associate, such had ample time to prove himself. But he didn't." The Prophet (P.B.U.H) said: "Woe to you, O Abu Sufyān, is it not time for you to learn that I am the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H)?" Abu Sufyān answered:

"How great, noble and generous you are, O Prophet of God (P.B.U.H)! While I entertain no more doubt that God has any associate, I am still not so sure about this claim." At this point, al 'Abbās intervened and asked Abu Sufyān to convert to Islam and to witness, before he was put to death, that there is no God but Allah and that Muhammad is the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H). Faced with the threat, Abu Sufyān converted and recited the confession of faith. Al 'Abbās then turned to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and said: "O Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), Abu Sufyān is a proud man. Would you not grant him some privilege?" The Prophet (P.B.U.H) answered: "Yes, indeed! Whoever enters the house of Abu Sufyān shall be secure; whoever remains in his own house shall also be secure; and whoever enters the Mosque shall be secure."

The Historians' Estimate of These Reports

The veracity of the foregoing event is agreed upon by all historians and biographers. Some of them question whether these events took place accidentally or by previous arrangement. They point to the fact that when al 'Abbās sought the Prophet (P.B.U.H), he meant to travel to Madinah, but we find him confronting the Muslim army at al Juhfah. They also point to the fact that Budayl ibn Warqa' and Abū Sufyān ibn Hiarb left Makkah in order to reconnoiter, whereas we do know that the same Budayl had gone to Madinah and related to the Prophet

(P.B.U.H) how he encountered Khuzfl'ah on the road and learned from the Prophet (P.B.U.H) that the Banu Khuzā'ah had become the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) allies. How, then, is this consistent with the view that Abu Sufyān had left Makkah without prior knowledge that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his army were already on the road to Makkah? Some historians therefore suggest that some prearrangement, whether little or much, must have taken place before these events unfolded, and that it was under some such prearrangement that al 'Abbās went out to meet Muhammad (P.B.U.H). They point out that such an ar rangement between Makkans and Muslims is implicit in the meeting of al 'Abbās and Abū Sufyan in the night. Abu Sufyan stood in need of no argument to convince al 'Abbās that Quraysh had no more means to stop Muhammad (P.B.U.H), especially since he had been in Madinah seeking to extend the term of the Hudaybiyah Treaty without success. These historians and biographers suggest that Abu Sufyān must have thought that if he could cooperate with the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and prepare for the Muslim conquest of Makkah, his position of leadership in Makkan society would be safeguarded. That such a prearranged agreement did not go beyond Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and the few persons concerned, the evidence of 'Umar's request to kill Abū Sufyān eloquently proves. At any rate, it is conjecture for us to judge. But we certainly may decide, and do so with utmost conviction, that regardless of whether these events took place incidentally or by previous arrangement, they prove beyond doubt Muhammad's skill (P.B.U.H), sure insight, and precision in winning the greatest victory of Islamic history without war or bloodshed.

The March on Makkah Continued

The conversion of Abū Sufyan did not dissuade Muhammad (P.B.U.H) from taking all necessary precautions before entering

Makkah. Although understood that victory is a gift of Allah granted to whomsoever He pleases, it is still true that Allah does not grant His gift except to those who prepare for it perfectly and who avail themselves of every possible precaution to achieve it. Only in this way can it be explained why the Prophet (P.B.U.H) ordered that Abū Sufyan be held at the gate of the valley in the outskirts of Makkah. He deemed it desirable that Abū Sufyan watch the Muslim armies at close range and describe them to his people accurately. But he was careful not to give the enemy any time to mobilize an army or to prepare any kind of opposition before the Muslims had entered the city. As the tribes passed by Abu Sufyan, he was in no way so much impressed as by the "green company" in which Muhammad (P.B.U.H) stood surrounded by the Muhajirun and al Ansār. So close were their ranks and so well equipped that all one could see was a solid mass of iron. After they passed, Abu Sufyan said to al 'Abbās: "O Abu al Fadl, no force can stand in the face of this. By Allah, the dominion of your nephew has become truly great." He then rushed toward Makkah calling to his people at the top of his voice: "O men of Quraysh, here comes Muhammad (P.B.U.H) with an army such as you have never seen before. Put up no resistance. Whoever enters into my house shall be secure; whoever remains in his own house shall be secure; and whoever enters the Mosque shall be secure."

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) advanced with the army until he reached Dhu Tuwa. From there he realized that Makkah lay in front of him devoid of any army to give him battle. He stopped his forces, stood over this mount, and bent himself in prayers and thanksgiving. He was grateful to Allah that he had enabled him to conquer the first theatre of Revelation. The sanctuary of the holy House was now to be opened to all the Muslims in peace and security. At the same time, Abu Quhafah who had not yet been converted to Islam like his son. asked a granddaughter of his to take him over to the mount of Abu Qubays. Being blind,

he asked his granddaughter what she saw once they got to the top. She answered, "A black mass is all I see." He said, "That must be the cavalry." She said, "By Allah the black mass is spreading out." He said, "The cavalry must have been given orders to march over Makkah. Take me quickly to my home." Before they reached Makkah, however, the Muslim cavalry had entered the city and intercepted him on the road.

Deployment of the Muslim Forces

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) praised Allah and thanked him for the conquest of Makkah. Nonetheless, he continued to take every precaution. He had divided the army into four groups and commanded them all not to engage in any fighting or shed any blood except in cases of extreme emergency. He gave the command of the left wing to al Zubayr ibn al 'Awwām and ordered him to enter Makkah from the north. He gave the command of the right to Khālid ibn al Walid and ordered him to enter Makkah from the south. He gave the command of the Madinese to Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah and ordered him to enter Makkah from the west. As for Abu 'Ubaydah ibn al Jarrāh, he gave him the command of the Muhājirun and ordered him to enter Makkah from the north near Hind Mountain and joined his own company to the Muhājirun. While about to march, Sa'd ibn 'Ubadah was heard saying: "Today is the day of battle, the day of the great war, the day when all taboos will be lifted." Had he been permitted to proceed, this general would have violated the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) commandment that no blood should be shed in Makkah. Hence, as soon as the Prophet (P.B.U.H) learned of his attitude, he relieved him of the command of the forces and appointed his son, Qays, to replace him. The son was less active than the father on account of his voluminous size, but he was of a far more gentle disposition.

The armies entered and occupied Makkah without opposition. Only the front assigned to Khā]id ibn al Wa]id put up any resistance. That area, the south of Makkah, was populated by the most hostile and antagonistic members of Quraysh. Many of them were among the attackers of Khuzā'ah who, together with their Banū Bakr allies, had violated the Treaty of Hudaybiyah. Not moved by the call of Abu Sufyān, they prepared for battle. Those of them ready to fight were led by Safwān, Suhayl, and 'Ikrimah ibn Abu Jahl. When Khā]id's army entered their quarter, they showered it with arrows. Khālid, however, quickly dispersed them, losing two of his men and killing thirteen of the enemy, according to one version, and twenty-eight according to another. It is even said that the two soldiers missing from Khalid's army were not lost in battle but had strayed into the wilderness and lost their way. Safwan, Suhayl, and 'Ikrimah took to flight as soon as they realized the futility of their stand, leaving their own men whom they had incited to resistance at the mercy of Muslim arms. Standing with a group of Muhajirun on a Makkan height and surveying the various quarters of the city he had just conquered without violence, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) noticed toward the south the shining of swords in battle with the local inhabitants. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) became angry and repeated his command that there should be no fighting. He was soon told the facts of the case and accepted Allah's judgment in the matter.

The Muslims Enter Makkah

The Prophet (P.B.U.H) camped on a height opposite the mountain of Hind and in the proximity of the graves of Abu Tālib and Khadijah. He was asked whether he wanted to rest in his old house in Makkah and answered, "No! They have leveled it." The Prophet (P.B.U.H) then retired to his tent grateful to

Allah for this glorious and victorious return, and for bringing to its knees the cruel city which had tortured and banished him. For a moment, he turned his gaze toward the valley of Makkah as well as to the surrounding hills. He recalled that in those hills he often found refuge from the persecution of Quraysh; that one of them, Hirā', was the scene of his periodical retreats. Vividly, he represented to himself the moment when, in the cave of that same mountain, the first verses of the Qur'ān were revealed; he could hear the holy words resound in his ears:

﴿ ٱقۡرَأۡ بِٱسۡمِ رَبِّكَ ٱلَّذِى خَلَقَ ۝١ خَلَقَ ٱلۡإِنسَٰنَ مِنۡ عَلَقٍ ۝٢ ٱقۡرَأۡ وَرَبُّكَ ٱلۡأَكۡرَمُ ۝٣ ٱلَّذِى عَلَّمَ بِٱلۡقَلَمِ ۝٤ عَلَّمَ ٱلۡإِنسَٰنَ مَا لَمۡ يَعۡلَمۡ ۝٥ ﴾

سورة العلق الآيات ١-٥

(Proclaim! (or Read!) In the name of your Lord and Cherisher, Who created, Created man, out of a leech - like clot. Proclaim! And your Lord is Most Bountiful, He Who taught (the use of) the Pen, Taught man that which he knew not.) (Al-Alaq:1-5)

The Prophet (P.B.U.H) was naturally attracted by the view of Makkah spread out in expanding circles before him between these hills, at the center of which stood the sanctuary and its holy House. Muhammad (P.B.U.H), moved by the sight of Makkah and by the remembrance of Allah's Revelation, let tears fall from his eye as he thanked Allah, praised Him, and witnessed that there is no truth and no power except in Him. He felt that his task as leader was coming to a natural conclusion. So agitating were all these feelings that he was unable to settle down to rest or, indeed, even to restrain himself within the tent. Mounting his she-camel, al Qaswa', he rode toward the Ka'bah where he circumambulated the House without dismounting. He then

dismounted and called upon 'Uthmān ibn Talhah to open the Ka'bah for him. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) stood at the door surrounded by the many worshippers who had found their way to the holy House. He delivered a speech to the people present in which he said, quoting the Qur'ān:

﴿ يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلنَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَٰكُم مِّن ذَكَرٍ وَأُنثَىٰ وَجَعَلْنَٰكُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَآئِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوٓا۟ ۚ إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِندَ ٱللَّهِ أَتْقَىٰكُمْ ۚ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ ﴿١٣﴾ ﴾

سورة الحجرات آية ١٣

(O mankind! We created you from a single (pair) of a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know each other (not that you may despise each other). Verily the most honoured of you in the sight of Allah is (he who is) the most righteous of you. And Allah has full Knowledge and is well-acquainted (with all things).) (Al-Hujurat: 13)

He continued: "O Men of Quraysh, what do you think I am about to do with you?" "Everything good," they answered, "for you are a noble brother and a noble nephew of ours." Muhamma (P.B.U.H)d went on: "Rise, then, and go. For you are free."

With this word, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) gave a general ımnesty to all Quraysh and all the Makkans.

The Prophet's (P.B.U.H) General Amnesty

Oh, the beauty of pardon and forgiveness on the part of the mighty and powerful! How great is the soul of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) which rose above hatred and above revenge, which denied every human feeling and ascended to heights of nobility

man had never reached before! There were the Quraysh among whom were people whom Muhammad (P.B.U.H) well knew had plotted to kill him, had persecuted him, and inflicted upon him and his companions all kinds of injury and harm, who fought him at Badr and at Uhud, who blockaded him in the Campaign of al Khandaq, who incited the Arab tribes to rise against him, and who would even then tear him apart if only they had the power. There, the whole of Quraysh stood totally under Muhammad's hand (P.B.U.H), indeed under his feet, totally subject to his command. Indeed, their very life depended upon the first word emerging from his lips. All these thousands of men, of Muslims in battle array, stood on the ready waiting for that omme word to wipe out the whole of Makkah and its people within minutes. Muhammad (P.B.U.H), however, was no less than Muhammad (P.B.U.H)! He was no less than the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H)! No alienation, antagonism, or hostility could find any permanent abode in his heart. His heart was absolutely free of injustice, of malice, of tyranny or false pride. In the most decisive moment, Allah gave him power over his enemy. But Muhammad (P.B.U.H) chose to forgive, thereby giving to all mankind and all the generations the most perfect example of goodness, of truthfulness, of nobility and magnanimity.

Cleansing the Ka'bah of its Images

When Muhammad (P.B.U.H) entered the Ka'bah, he saw that its walls were painted with pictures of angels and prophets. His eyes fell upon a picture of Ibrahim holding the divination arrows and a pigeon made out of twigs. He seized the pigeon, broke it into pieces and threw it to the ground and, looking at the picture of Ibrahim, he said: "Accursed be the Makkans! They have made our ancestor an idolater and a diviner. What does IbrahIm have to do with divination arrows? He was neither a Jew

nor a Christian nor yet an associationist, but a ***hanif,*** and a Muslim." On the walls of the Ka'bah, the angels were pictured as beautiful women. Turning to them, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) denied that angels had any such bodily forms, that they were either male or female. He commanded the obliteration of all pictures and images. Attached with lead to the walls of the Ka'bah were the idols which the Quraysh worshipped as the associates of Allah; the idol Hubal stood in the center of the Ka'bah. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) designated every one of these idols with his stick and recited the verse of the Qur'an:

﴿ وَقُلْ جَآءَ ٱلْحَقُّ وَزَهَقَ ٱلْبَـٰطِلُ ۚ إِنَّ ٱلْبَـٰطِلَ كَانَ زَهُوقًا ﴿٨١﴾ ﴾

سورة الإسراء آية ٨١

(And say: "Truth has (now) arrived, and Falsehood perished: for Falsehood is (by its nature) bound to perish.) (Al-Isra': 81)

The idols were then torn down and broken, and the holy House was purified. That which Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had called for during the last twenty years was now accomplished before the first day of the conquest of Makkah was ovem'. That which Makkah had opposed most strongly was now a fact of history. The destruction of the idols and the wiping out of paganism in the holy sanctuary was now completed before the very eyes of Quraysh. The Makkan idols, the objects of reverence and worship inherited from the ancestors, crumbled to bits under the hammering blows of Muhammad (P.B.U.H).

Al Ansār's Fears and the Prophet's (P.B.U.H)Reassurance

As the Ansār of Madinah witnessed all this, and as they saw

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) on top of al Safa mountain invite the Makkans to embrace Islam, they feared he might now abandon Madinah and reestablish himself in his native city. Some of them inquired of one another, seeking to reassure themselves whether or not this was the case. Their apprehension was not out of place. Victor in his own home town where stood the sanctuary, the holy House of Allah and center of worship, it was quite likely that the Prophet (P.B.U.H) would now make Makkah his capital. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had hardly finished his prayer and preaching when he inquired concerning their fears. When, after long hesitancy, they intimated to him their concern, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) said: "Never, by Allah! I have covenanted to join you in life and death. I shall remain true to my covenant." Evidently, neither relatives, nor native city, nor even the holy sanctuary itself could dissuade Muhammad (P.B.U.H) from honoring a pledge he once gave to those who stood by him at his hour of need. His word given at the conclusion of the Covenant of 'Aqabah was to be honored in exemplary faithfulness and loyalty, and the occasion proved to be just what the moral teacher needed. When the Ka'bah was purified of its idols, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) ordered Bilāl to mount to its top and from there to recite. the ***adhan,*** to give the call to worship. The Muslims gathered and, led by Muhammad (P.B.U.H), performed the prayer. From that time until today, for fourteen long centuries without interruption, Bila] as well as his countless successors have recited the ***adhan*** calling men to prayer five times a day from that same spot on top of the Ka'bah. For fourteen long centuries since that day, Muslims all over the globe have worshipped Allah and invoked His blessing upon His Prophet (P.B.U.H), their face turned toward this holy House which Muhammad (P.B.U.H) cleansed on that day of its images and idols and reconsecrated to the One Almighty God.

Quraysh, resigned to its fate, felt reassured by Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) general pardon. They watched the Muslims go about

their city with great surprise, not without a measure of fear and caution. Seventeen Makkans were excepted from Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) general amnesty and were ordered executed even if found clutching to the coverings of the Ka'bah. Some of them went into hiding and others ran away from the city altogether. They all stood convicted of atrocious crimes they had committed. One of these men was 'Abdullah ibn Abu al Sarh who once converted to Islam and wrote down the Revelation for Muhammad (P.B.U.H), but who then apostatized, returned to Quraysh, and there spread tales about his falsification of the Revelation. Another convict was 'Abdullah ibn Khatal who converted to Islam, killed one of his clients, apostatized, and commanded his two slave women, one of whom was called Fartanā, to castigate Muhammad (P.B.U.H) in song. Both slave women were indicted and ordered executed with their master. Another was 'Ikrimah ibn Abu Jahl, the most persistent enemy, who could not accept the Muslim conquest of Makkah and put up strong resistance in the face of Khālid ibn al Walid on the southern front.

Pardon Extended to The Convicts

As soon as he entered Makkah, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) ordered that no blood should be shed and that only the seventeen people would receive their just punishment. While some of the seventeen condemned hid, others ran away from Makkah with their families. As the situation settled down and the news of the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) clemency and all-embracing forgiveness became fully known and appreciated by all, some companions dared to think that even the condemned could also be forgiven. 'Uthman ibn 'Affān, brother-in-nursing of Ibn Abu al Sarh, approached the Prophet (P.B.U.H) in this regard and sought an order for the safe passage of his ***protégé.*** Muhammad (P.B.U.H)

was silent for a long time sunk in thought, but he then consented to grant forgiveness. Umm Hakim, daughter of al Hārith ibn Hisham and the wife of 'Ikrimah ibn Abū Jahl who ran away to Yaman, converted to Islam and sought pardon for her husband directly from Muhammad (P.B.U.H). She was granted it. She then went to Yaman and returned with her husband. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) also forgave Safwan ibn Umayyah who accompanied 'Ikrimah on his escape toward the sea and thence to Yaman. Both had been caught just before their ship was to sail. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) also forgave Hind, wife of Abū Sufyan, who chewed the liver of Hamzah, uncle of the Prophet (P.B.U.H), after his martyrdom at the Battle of Uhud. Indeed, most of the men condemned to death had been forgiven. Only four were executed:

al Huwayrith who tempted Zaynab, the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) daughter, when she returned from Makkah to Madinah; two Muslims guilty of murder in Madinah who escaped to Makkah and apostatized; and one of the slave women of Ibn Khatal who used to castigate the Prophet (P.B.U.H) in song. The other slave-woman ran away, but was brought back and later forgiven.

Reconsecration of Makkah: The City as Inviolate

Following the conquest of Makkah, the Khuzā'ah tribe discovered a Hudhayl tribesman in their midst who was still a pagan and killed him. Upon hearing the news, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) was so angry that he delivered a speech in which he said: "O men, Allah made Makkah a holy place on the day heaven and earth were created. Makkah is therefore holy, holy, holy to the end of time. No man believing in Allah and the Day of Judgment may therefore shed any blood or destroy any tree in its precincts. Makkah has never been desecrated by anyone before me and it shall never be desecrated by anyone after me.

Only for the brief hour of conquest and because of Allah's wrath upon its people, it was permitted to me to enter it with arms. But now Makkah fully enjoys her previous holiness. Let the present inform the absent. Whoever argues with you that the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) fought in Makkah, answer him that Allah had desanctified the city for His Prophet (P.B.U.H) but not for anyone else, and surely not for you, O Tribesmen of Khuza'ah! All killing must stop, for it is evil crime and brings no advantage when indulged in. You have killed a man, and I shall have to pay his bloodwit to his people. Henceforth, the heirs of a victim shall have the choice between executing the murderer or receiving bloodwit." Muhammad (P.B.U.H) immediately paid the bloodwit of the Khuzā'ah tribesman to his people. By his disposal of the case in this manner and his general proclamation concerning murder and retaliation,

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) struck a further example of clemency and justice. The force of Islam's appeal to the Makkans became irresistible, and they began to convert. The town crier proclaimed: "Whoever believes in Allah and the Day of Judgment will destroy on this day every idol and vestige of paganism in his home." The Prophet (P.B.U.H) commissioned some Khuza'ah men to repair the walls of the holy city, thereby giving further proof of his respect for it. Under the circumstances, the love and esteem for Muhammad (P.B.U.H) could only increase. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) told the Makkans that he loved them the most, that they were the highest in his regard, and that he would have never left them had they themselves not rejected and banished him. With this praise, the Makkans' esteem for Muhammad (P.B.U.H) broke all bounds.

Abu Bakr brought his own father, Abu Quhafah, the old blind man who went up to the mount of Abu Qubays guided by his daughter to find oui what was happening before the Muslims entered the city, and placed him in the presence of the Prophet (P.B.U.H). When seeing him, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) reproached

Abū Bakr for bringing the old man over and said that it was he, Muhammad (P.B.U.H), that should have come to Abu Quhafah. Paying no attention to Abū Bakr's rejoinder that it was his father's duty to come to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and not vice versa, he asked the man to sit by him, wiped his face for him and invited him to enter into Islam. Abu Quhafah converted and became an ardent Muslim. Through this noble behavior of the Prophet (P.B.U.H), this magnanimous conduct, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) succeeded in winning over a people who had nursed for him the strongest hatred. Thereafter, the Makkans revered the person of Muhammad (P.B.U.H), embraced Islam, and wholeheartedly subjected themselves to his rule.

Ibn al Walid and the Tribe of Jadhimah

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) resided in Makkah fifteen days during which he organized its affairs and instructed its people in Islam. During this period, he sent forth delegations to call men peaceably to Islam to destroy the idols without shedding any blood. Khālid ibn al Walid was sent to Nakhlah to destroy al 'Uzzā, goddess of Banu Shayban. His task accomplished, ibn al Walid proceeded to Jadhimah. There, however, the people took up arms at his approach. Khālid asked them to lay down their arms on the grounds that all people had accepted Islam. One of the Jadhimah tribesman said to his people: "Woe to you, Banu Jadhimah! Don't you know that this is Khālid? By Allah, nothing awaits you once you have laid down your arms except captivity, and once you have become captives you can expect nothing but death." Some of his people answered: "Do you seek to have us all murdered? Don't you know that most men have converted to Islam, that the war is over, and that security is reestablished ?" Those who held this opinion continued to talk to their tribesmen until the latter surrendered their arms.

Thereupon, ibn al Walid ordered them to be bound, and he killed some of them. When he heard of the news, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) lifted his arms to heaven and prayed: "O Allah, I condemn what Khālid ibn al Walid has done." The Prophet (P.B.U.H) gave funds to 'Ali ibn Abu Tālib and sent him to look into the affairs of this tribe, cautioning him to disregard all the customs of pre-Islām. Upon arrival, 'Ali paid the blood-wit of all the victims and compensated the property owners for their damages. Before leaving, he surrendered the rest of the money which the Prophet (P.B.U.H) had given him to the tribe just in case there were any other losses which may have escaped notice at the time.

During the two weeks which Muhammad (P.B.U.H) spent in Makkah, he wiped out all the traces of paganism in the city. All the offices attached to the holy House were abolished except two:

the ***sidanah*** which the Prophet (P.B.U.H) assigned to 'Uthmān ibn Talhah, his children, and progeny after him till the end of days, and the ***siqayah,*** which he assigned to his uncle al 'Abbās. Thus Umm al Qura embraced Islam and raised high the torch of genuine monotheism, illuminating the whole world for generations and centuries to come.

25

Campaigns of Hunayn and al Ta'if

After its conquest, the Muslims remained in Makkah for two weeks during which they showed their joy over the victory which Allah had granted to them. They gave thanks that such a great victory had been achieved with such little bloodshed. They hurried to the sanctuary every time Bilal delivered the ***adhan*** calling them to prayer. They strove to be near the Prophet (P.B.U.H) wherever he went. The Muhajirun visited their old houses and their relatives and friends whom Allah had guided to the truth after the conquest. Everybody was satisfied that Islam was now firmly established and that the greater part of the holy war had been victorious. Fifteen days of their stay in Makkah had hardly passed when news broke out which shook the Muslims out of their joy and feeling of security. They learned that Hawazin, the tribe living a few miles to the southeast of Makkah, had mobilized its forces and was marching against the Muslims in Makkah. This tribe had learned of the conquest of Makkah by the Muslims and of the subsequent destruction of the idols of the Ka'bah. Apparently, their men feared that the time would soon come for the Muslims to fight them on their own ground. Anxious to prevent such a tragedy, they thought this hour of Muslim intoxication with victory the right time to mobilize their forces for an attack. Their purpose, however, was

the larger one of wrecking the Muslims' general plan of uniting all the tribes of the Peninsula under the banner of Islam.

Mālik ibn 'Awf's March against the Muslims

It was toward this end that Mālik ibn 'Awf al Nadri succeeded in uniting the Hawāzin and Thaqif tribes and rallying the tribes of Nasr and Jusham in one front opposing the Islamic movement as a whole. Only the Ka'b aiid Kilāb clans of Hawāzin refused to ,join the new alliance. Durayd ibn al Simmah, of the Jusham tribe, was a very old man, too old to fight, but he was extremely wise and had the advantage of an extensive military experience and career. The anti-Islamic alliance had mobilized all its members, men, women, and children, and carried to battle all the treasures it possessed. It completed its mobilization in the valley of Awtās. When Durayd, who was blind, heard the braying of donkeys and lowing of cattle mixed in with the crying of children and the bellowing of goats, he asked Mālik ibn 'Awf why he had brought women, children, and treasures to the front. Mālik answered that he meant thereby to encourage the fighting men and to incite them to greater self-exertion in war. Durayd answered: "But what do we do in case of defeat? Does the vanquished ever keep anything he brings to the battlefield? If we are to be victorious, surely such victory will be brought about not by the women or children but by the fighting men and their swords, arrows, and javelins. But if we should lose the war, then we would be shamed and scandalized by the capture of our' families and treasures." Mālik disagreed with Durayd, and the people followed the former. Mālik was a youth of thirty years, a man of strong will and firm resolution. Durayd, anxious to safeguard the newly forged unity, decided, against his better judgment, to go along with the majority. Mālik commanded his people to stand by on the tops of

the Sulaym hills at the entrance to the valley and, at the proper signal, to fall upon the Muslims like one man and break their ranks as they passed in file through the canyon. Such a plot would reduce the Muslim ranks to a rabble, and the Muslims would not be able to distinguish their own soldiers from the enemy. They would be vanquished; and with their defeat, their victory over Makkah would be cancelled and to the tribes of Hawāzin and Hunayn would belong the honor of destroying a power which came close to engulfing the whole Peninsula. The tribes obeyed the orders of Mālik and dug themselves in on the sides of the canyon.

The Muslims March to Hunayn

As for the Muslims, they went forth under the leadership of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) with such power and such numbers that they themselves had never seen before. There were twelve thousand of them, ten thousand of which were those who conquered Makkah and two thousand who were newcomers from Quraysh including Abū Sufyān. Their war equipment was excellent and their armies were preceded by their cavalry and camel corps carrying their provisions and ammunition. Theirs was an army the like of which the Arabian Peninsula had never seen before. It consisted of many tribes, and each tribe had its own banner which it carried high above its ranks. It was a sight convincing any spectator of Muslim invincibility. Indeed, many Muslims told one another: "To say the least, our numerical strength has today made us invincible." They arrived at Hunayn in the evening and camped at the entrance of the valley until dawn. At dawn the following day the army began to move, and Muhammad (P.B.U.H), riding his white mule, was in the rear while Khalid ibn al Walid, commanding a group of soldiers from Banu Sulaym, was in the vanguard.

Muslim Defeat

As the Muslims passed through the canyon of Hunayn, Malik ibn 'Awf ordered his army to attack in the darkness before dawn, first with arrows and then with a general charge. The Muslims' ranks broke up and were stricken with panic. Some of them ran out of the canyon as fast as they could in search of safety. Witnessing what had befallen the Muslims, Abu Sufyan felt no little pleasure at the defeat of his previous enemies who until now had been celebrating their victory over Makkah. He said, "The Muslims will not be defeated until they are thrown into the sea." Shaybah ibn 'Uthman ibn Abu Talhah, whose father was killed at Uhud, said, "Today is my day of vengeance from Muhammad." Likewise, Kaladah ibn Hanbal said, "Today, the fate of the Muslims is cast," only to be answered by his brother Safwān:

"Silence! Cursed be your tongue. By Allah, to be lorded over by a man from Quraysh is better than by a man of Hawāzin." These remarks were exchanged while Muslim ranks were falling apart, and soldiers, fleeing in face of the enemy, were bypassing the Prophet (P.B.U.H) in the rear unaware of his presence.

Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) Resoluteness and Bravery

What would Muhammad (P.B.U.H) do? Would he allow the sacrifices of twenty years to be lost in this moment of pre-dawn darkness? Could he think that Allah had abandoned him in this hour? Such could never be! Better death and annihilation. Better that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) die in the thick of battle! At any rate, when one's hour has struck, to what purpose is delaying or advancing it a little? Muhammad (P.B.U.H) therefore held his ground and was surrounded by a number of Muhajirun, Ansār,

and immediate relatives. As his men passed by, he called out to them and sought to rally them back to the ranks. But they neither heard nor wanted to hear. The sudden onslaught of Hawāzin and Thaqif robbed them of their senses. This terrible picture the Muslims had of the enemy was not exaggerated. From the sides of the canyon the tribesmen of Hawāzin poured down in overwhelming numbers. Their leader rode a red camel and held a black banner attached to a long spear which he plunged into the chest of every Muslim that came anywhere near him. Hawāzin and Thaqif tribesmen, as well as their allies, fought in the same way. It was a sea of drawn spears. At one moment, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) almost plunged with his mule into enemy lines to stop their torrent of blows. Abū Sufyān ibn al Hārith ibn 'Abd al Mutta]ib held back the reins of the mule and prevented it from carrying the Prophet (P.B.U.H) forward.

Al 'Abbās's Call for Regrouping

Al 'Abbas ibn 'Abd al Muttalib was a man of large stature who had a very resonant voice. He called loudly enough to reach all the Muslims: "O Ansār Company! O Men who opened their homes and helped Muhammad! O Muhārijrun Company! O Men who pledged their allegiance under the tree! Muhammad (P.B.U.H) is still alive. Charge forward with him." Al 'Abbās repeated his call until the whole valley reverberated with its echo. Then, the miracle happened. The covenanters of al 'Aqabah and the Muhājirun heard. They remembered Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and their oaths of allegiance to him as well as their sacrifices in the cause of Islam.

The other Muslims also heard and realized that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was still there, alive, holding his ground, and fighting the enemy just as he had held his ground and fought the enemy at the Battle of Uhud. Suddenly, they were gripped by a

consciousness of shame at their conduct and of apprehension at what might befall their Prophet (P.B.U.H) and Allah's religion in case the associationists carried the day. Al 'Abbas's call continued to reverberate through the valley; the Muslims' hearts were immediately touched and their wills kindled. There and then, from every corner and quarter came the resounding cry, "At Your command, O God, at Your command !" The Muslims returned to battle and fought with utmost resolution and gallantry.

Muslim Counterattack and Victory

Muhammad was reassured as he saw them return to the battlefront. In the meantime, the whole Hawāzin camp had come out of their trenches in the hills and confronted the Muslims face to face in the valley. At that time, too, the darkness was dissipated by sunrise. Around the Prophet a few hundred soldiers stood and repelled the attacks of the Hawazin. Their ranks began to swell as the fleeing Muslims returned. The Ansār began to call to one another, "Rally forth to battle." They quickly reorganized themselves according to tribes and clans while Muhammad watched the progress of the battle. As the Muslim soldiers refilled their ranks and began to march shoulder to shoulder together, the Prophet proclaimed: "Now the battle has begun. God will not fail the Prophet and will fulfil] the promise He gave him." Then, turning to al 'Abbas and asking for a handful of pebbles, the Prophet threw the pebbles in the face of the enemy with the war cry, "Woe to the enemies of God !" With this, the Muslims charged, throwing themselves upon their enemies. They were convinced that theirs would be the victory and the fate of the martyr would even be greater than that of the surviving victor. The battle raged and men fell on all sides. Soon Hawazin, Thaqif, and their allies realized that their efforts were vain and

that they faced annihilation. They turned around and started to flee, leaving behind them their women, children, and all their properties: 22,000 camels, 40,000 goats, and 4,000 ounces of silver. The captives which numbered 6,000, were transported under Muslim protection to the valley of al Ji'rānah where they were held until the Muslims returned from their pursuit of the enemy and from their blockade of Thaqif tribe in the city of al Ta'if.

The Muslims' Pursuit of Their Enemies

The Muslims gave their enemy close pursuit, and they were further encouraged by the Prophet's proclamation (P.B.U.H) that whoever killed an associationist would receive his victim's booty. Ibn al Dughunnah overtook a camel carrying an open palanquin which he thought might be carrying a woman whom he could take captive. He brought the camel to its knees, looked into the palanquin and discovered an old man unknown to him. The old man asked his pursuer what he wanted. Ibn al Dughunnah answered, "I wish to kill you," and hit him with his sword. The blow was so light that the old man was not even cut. Aware of the shame that had befallen him and his people, the old man had no desire to live; he addressed his attacker in these words of disdain and pride: "Woe to your mother who taught you how to bear arms! Take my sword from my saddle and strike with it. Hit neither the chest nor the head btit apply all your strength to one blow against the neck. In this way I used to kill my own enemies in days gone by. And if your miserable mother should ask you whom you killed in this fashion, tell her that you have killed Durayd ibn al Simmah. By Allah, it was a wretched day on which I extended my protection to your women and saved them by my arm." When Rabi'ah ibn al Dughannah returned and told the story to his mother, she cried in agonies of

conscience and said to her son: "To fire with both your arms. What crime have they perpetrated! Durayd sought to remind posterity of our obligation to him. By Allah, it was he who granted freedom to three of your own mothers in one day; myself, my mother, and the mother of your father." The Muslims followed Hawazin all the way to the plain of Awtās where they inflicted upon them the most terrible defeat, capturing all their women and property. Only then did they return to Muhammad (P.B.U.H). Mālik ibn 'Awf al Nadri gave the Muslims some resistance but then ran away with his people and some Hawāzin tribesmen to Nakhlah. From there he escaped to al Ta'if where he took refuge.

Thus, Muslim victory was complete. The unbelievers were vanquished after they had almost defeated the Muslim army'. The advantage they had secured by their surprise attack in pre-dawn darkness was shattered when the Prophet (P.B.U.H) called his men back to their ground. The steadfastness of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and of the small number of believers that surrounded him turned the tide and proved the Muslims invincible. In this regard, the following verses were revealed:

﴿ لَقَدْ نَصَرَكُمُ ٱللَّهُ فِي مَوَاطِنَ كَثِيرَةٍ وَيَوْمَ حُنَيْنٍ إِذْ
أَعْجَبَتْكُمْ كَثْرَتُكُمْ فَلَمْ تُغْنِ عَنكُمْ شَيْـًٔا وَضَاقَتْ عَلَيْكُمُ
ٱلْأَرْضُ بِمَا رَحُبَتْ ثُمَّ وَلَّيْتُم مُّدْبِرِينَ ﴿٢٥﴾ ثُمَّ أَنزَلَ ٱللَّهُ سَكِينَتَهُۥ
عَلَىٰ رَسُولِهِۦ وَعَلَى ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَأَنزَلَ جُنُودًا لَّمْ تَرَوْهَا وَعَذَّبَ
ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا۟ ۚ وَذَٰلِكَ جَزَآءُ ٱلْكَٰفِرِينَ ﴿٢٦﴾ ثُمَّ يَتُوبُ ٱللَّهُ مِنۢ بَعْدِ
ذَٰلِكَ عَلَىٰ مَن يَشَآءُ ۗ وَٱللَّهُ غَفُورٌ رَّحِيمٌ ﴿٢٧﴾ يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوٓا۟

إِنَّمَا ٱلْمُشْرِكُونَ نَجَسٌ فَلَا يَقْرَبُوا۟ ٱلْمَسْجِدَ ٱلْحَرَامَ بَعْدَ عَامِهِمْ هَٰذَا ۚ وَإِنْ خِفْتُمْ عَيْلَةً فَسَوْفَ يُغْنِيكُمُ ٱللَّهُ مِن فَضْلِهِۦٓ إِن شَآءَ ۚ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ حَكِيمٌ ﴿٢٨﴾ سورة التوبة الآيات ٢٥-٢٨

Assuredly Allah did help you in many battle-fields and on the day of Hunain: behold! your great numbers elated you, but they availed you naught: the land, for all that it is wide, did constrain you, and ye turned back in retreat. But Allah did pour His calm on the Messenger and on the Believers, and sent down forces which ye saw not: He punished the Unbelievers: thus doth He reward those without Faith. Again will Allah, after this, turn (in mercy) to whom He will: for Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful. O ye who believe! Truly the Pagans are unclean; so let them not, after this year of theirs, approach the Sacred Mosque. And if ye fear poverty, soon will Allah enrich you, if He wills, out of His bounty, for Allah is All-Knowing, All-Wise.

(AT-Tawbah: 25-28)

The Price of Victory

Victory was not cheaply achieved. The Muslims paid a very high price. True, they could have done it at much lesser loss had they not fallen back at the beginning and occasioned Abū Sufyan's derisive remark that they would be thrown into the sea. Although the source books of biography have not listed all the casualties of the battle, they did mention that two tribes of Muslims were almost totally annihilated, and that the Prophet (P.B.U.H) held a funerary prayer for them in which he asked Allah to let them enter Paradise. Partially offsetting this tremendous cost in human lives was the unqtiestioned supremacy the victory brought to the Muslims. Moreover, victory brought

more captives and booty than the Muslims had ever seen before. As long as the war itself is an honorable one, victory, its final objective, must be achieved regardless of prices. That is why the Muslims did not mind the initial loss, celebrated the victory, and awaited the distribution of the booty.

Muhammad (P.B.U.H), however, had other plans. Seeking to make the victory still more spectacular, he commanded the Muslims to march immediately. Mālik ibn Awf, leader of the enemy alliance, had taken refuge in the city of al Tā'if with the tribe of Thaqif, his allies against Muhammad (P.B.U.H). Full justification was therefore provided for the next Muslim move. Observing the same strategy employed at Khaybar following the Battle of Uhud, and at Qurayzah following the campaign of al Khandaq, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) ordered the army to march against al Ta'if. Perhaps Muhammad (P.B.U.H) remembered on that day how, many years before the Hijrah, he came to al Ta'if calling ***its*** people to Islam; how he was met with derision, driven away and pelted with stones; and how he sought shelter from its street children inside the closed vineyard. Perhaps he remembered how at that time he was alone, weak, and devoid of all support except Allah's; and how he had nothing but the great mountain-moving faith which filled his soul. Today, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) found himself going again to the same city but at the head of a Muslim army the like of which Arabia had never seen before.

The Siege of al Tā'if

The city of al Ta'if, capital of the Thaqif tribe and refuge of Mālik ibn 'Awf, loomed before Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his companions as the next objective. It was a fortified city and, like most Arab towns in that period, had gates which shut out the

undesirable intruder. Its people had wide military experience, especially in the art of siege. Their great wealth had enabled them to make their fortifications the strongest in the world. As the Muslims approached al Ta'if, they passed by Liyyah where stood a fortress of Mālik ibn 'Awf. The fortress as well as a nearby building belonging to a tribesman from Thaqif were destroyed. The army was commanded to put up camp in the vicinity, and the Prophet (P.B.U.H) called his companions together to map out a strategy. Ta'if, on the other hand, learning of their approach, observed Muslim movements from the top of its fortresses and towers, and showered the Muslims with volleys of deadly arrows. It was not possible for the Muslims to storm these strong fortresses with their old weapons. New means of waging war, destructive and innovative weapons were needed. It was suggested that perhaps they could starve Ta'if into surrender by simply maintaining the siege. Those who favored a frontal attack could not find the necessary means with which to launch it. One immediate decision had to be taken at once, namely, to move the Muslims' camp and forces beyond the reach of al Tā'if's arrows. Once this danger was removed, the Muslims thought they could afford the leisure requisite for a sound decision as to strategy. At the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) command, the Muslims erected their tents at a distance from the fortresses. There they built a mosque which was handed over to the city after its surrender and conversion to Islam. This preliminary measure was unavoidable considering that the arrows of Ta'if had accounted for the deaths of 18 Muslims and the wounding of a great number, including one of the sons of Abu Bakr. In the same locality two red tents were erected for the Prophet's wives (P.B.U.H), Umm Salmah and Zaynab, who had accompanied him (P.B.U.H) throughout this expedition. It was near his tents that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) used to call men to prayer, and, perhaps, it was precisely in that spot that the mosque of Tā'if was subsequently built.

Bombardment of al Tā'if by Catapult

The Muslims encamped and waited for new orders. Some tribesmen spoke to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) in favor of a prolonged siege, claiming that nothing the Muslims had would help them scale Tā'if's fortifications. Time alone, they argued, would eventually force Tā'if's people out of their safe foxholes. Muhammad (P.B.U.H), however, found it difficult to return without having achieved a victory over Tā'if. Banu Daws, one of the tribes living to the south of Makkah, were fully acquainted with the use of the catapult and had experience in tank-led assaults upon high fortifications. Al Tufayl, one of its leaders, who had accompanied Muhammad (P.B.U.H) ever since the conquest of Khaybar, stood at the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) side always on the ready to fulfill his wishes. At Muhammad's command (P.B.U.H), al Tufayl speeded to his tribe with a request for their assistance, and they responded by bringing with them their tools of war. Reaching al Ta'if four days after the Muslim siege began, they put their catapult to immediate use. They also brought their tanks into the battlefield, and sent a number of their men under their cover to the fortified walls. The soldiers of Ta'if, however, were clever •enough to force the men of Banu Daws to flee. Having heated pieces of iron to red hot temperatures, they threw these missiles onto the tanks and put them to flame. The Muslim soldiers which the tanks were covering had to flee or be burnt alive. As they emerged from under their tanks, they were shot at with arrows and a number of them were killed. Having failed at this new effort, the Muslims became convinced that there was no way to storm the fortresses of Tā'if.

Destruction of al Tā'if's Orchards

What was left for them to do? Muhammad (P.B.U.H) pondered this question for a long while. Suddenly, the thought occurred to him that he had achieved victory over Banu al Nadir and forced their evacuation simply by destroying their orchards. The vineyards of Ta'if were far more important than the orchards of Banū al Nadir and were known throughout Arabia for their produce. It was due to them that the city of al Tā'if acquired the reputation of being a little paradise in the desert. Without further ado, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) gave the order, and the Muslims began systematically to cut down and burn the orchards. Upon discovering this destruction and realizing that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) really meant to spare none of their vineyards, the Ta'if tribesmen sent to him pleading that they would rather give away their vineyards to Muhammad (P.B.U.H), or to those citizens of al Ta'if and there were large numbers of them—who were bound to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) in blood relationships. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) stopped his men temporarily and called out to the besieged city that he would set free any man who surrendered to him. Twenty people responded to his appeal. From them he learned that enough ammunition and provisions were available that the city could withstand the siege for a very long time. Considering that his own men were anxious to return home and enjoy the fruits of their victory over Hawazin—indeed, that their patience would be at an end if the siege were prolonged—Muhammad ordered (P.B.U.H) the Muslims to withdraw. With the arrival of the new moon (the month of Dhu al Qi'dah) the siege had become one month old, and the holy season during which no war was permitted had begun. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) returned to Makkah with his army, visiting the holy places and performing the lesser pilgrimage or ***'umrah.*** He announced that he would resume the war against al Ta'if at the expiration of the holy months.

Hawāzin Captives Liberated and Returned to Their Tribe

In their withdrawal to Makkah, the Muslims turned in the direction of al Ji'rānah where they had left their booty and captives. There, they stopped long enough to divide their spoils. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) separated one-fifth for himself and distributed the rest among his companions. Before they finished, a delegation from the Hawāzin tribe who had already accepted Islam appealed to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) to return to them the women, children, and property that the Muslim army had seized. They complained that they were anxious to see their families and that they had suffered enough from this war. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) met this delegation in person and listened attentively as one of them said: "O Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H); the captives in the wards of your army are themselves your relatives. Among them are your aunts on your father or mother's side and your nurse-mothers who held you in their arms as a baby. Had our women played similar roles to al Hārith ibn Abū Shimr, or to al Nu'mān ibn al Mundhir, and had any of these kings inflicted upon us what you have inflicted, he would have granted every request of ours if we but asked for his mercy and compassion and reminded him of his obligation. You, on the other hand, are the most merciful and compassionate and the least needful of being reminded of your obligations." The Hawazin delegation did not err in reminding Muhammad (P.B.U.H) of his blood relationship to them. Among the captives, an older looking woman whom the soldiers had treated roughly shouted in their faces: "Woe to you! Learn that I am the sister of your leader by virtue of having had the same wet nurse as he." The soldiers did not believe her and brought her to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) to verify her story. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) immediately recognized her. She was al Shaymā', daughter of al Hārith ibn 'Abd al 'Uzzā. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) went out to meet her and spread

out his mantle for her to sit on. After reassuring her of his devotion and respect, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) asked the old lady whether she chose to stay in his camp or to return to her people. When she chose to return, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) gave her some gifts and returned her to her people unharmed. It was natural for Muhammad (P.B.U.H), considering his relationship to the Hawazin Muslims who came pleading for mercy, that he granted their request. Such loyalty, remembrance, and considerateness to anyone who had shown him any respect or consideration, were second nature with Muhammad (P.B.U.H). Gratitude was with him a matter of course, and compassion for the wounded-at-heart was innate. After hearing their plea, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) asked: "Which are more precious to you, your women and children or yotir property? They answered, "O Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), if you are giving us a choice between our relatives and our property, we take the former." Muhammad (P.B.U.H) said: "All that I have set aside for me and for Banū 'Abd al Muttalib is yours. After the noon prayer, rise in the midst of the worshippers and plead: 'We appeal to all the Muslims in the name of the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), and to the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) in the name of all the Muslims for the return of our women and children.' I shall then publicly declare that I relinquish my share as well as my tribe's share." The delegation followed the advice of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and pleaded as he taught them. No sooner than they did, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) declared his plan as he had promised them. Thereupon, the Muhājirun rose and said: "Anything that is ours belongs automatically to the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) and is hereby relinquished." Al Ansār and all the Muslims did likewise except al Aqra' ibn Habis, speaking for Tamim; 'Uyaynah ibn Hisn, speaking for himself; and al 'Abbas ibn Mirdas, speaking for Banu Sulaym. The last named was immediately contradicted by his people. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) said:

"Anyone among you who has declined to give up his right in

this instance has my word that if he does, I will make it up to him sixfold on the next campaign." Thus, all the captives of Hawazin were returned and the tribe converted to Islam ***en masse.***

The People's Fear of Losing Their Booty

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) inquired from the Hawazin delegation concerning Mālik ibn 'Awf al Nadri and learned that he was still in al Tā'if. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) asked the delegation to inform Mālik that should he surrender and convert to Islam, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) would return to him his family and property as well as make a gift to him of 100 camels. Upon hearing of this promise and invitation of the Prophet (P.B.U.H), Mālik did not hesitate to steal out of al Tā'if on his mare under cover of night. Upon arrival at the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) camp, he proclaimed his conversion to Islam, picked up his family, his property, and the prize of 100 camels and then went home. Indeed, the people even feared that should Muhammad (P.B.U.H) continue such giveaways to the defectors from the other camp, soon there would be little left of the booty. They therefore insisted that each Muslim should receive his share, and they whispered one to another to this effect. As this whispering reached the ears of Muhammad (P.B.U.H), he pulled out a hair of the camel nearest him, lifted it up for his people to see and said: "O Men! By Allah, no part of your booty shall come to me that exceeds my legitimate share by as much as this hair, and this very share of mine I hereby return to you." The Prophet (P.B.U.H) then asked everyone to return what he had taken that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) might redistribute it to each according to his due. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) proclaimed that anyone unjustly taking anything however little, would be guilty of eternal shame and hellfire.

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) made this proclamation while

enraged against those of his followers who had picked up his mantle thinking that it was part of the spoils of war. However, they returned it to him after he called out to them: "Return my mantle to me, O Men. By Allah, even if your cattle were as numerous as the trees of Tihāmah, I would still divide it all among you in absolute fairness and justice, without avarice, fear, or deception. That which I have given away belongs to the fifth which is my due." It was out of the fifth which was due him that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) distributed some spoils to those who were previously Islam's strongest and most hostile enemies. He gave, for instance, 100 camels each to Abū Sufyan, to his son Mu'awiyah, to al Hārith ibn al Hārith ibn Kaladah, to al Hārith ibn Hisham, to Suhayl ibn 'Amr, and to Huwaytib ibn 'Abd al 'Uzza as well as to each of the nobles and chieftains of the tribes which he had won over after the conquest of Makkah. He gave 50 camels each to the lesser notables of the same tribes. Those who were so rewarded counted a few score, but the effect of this giving was far reaching. The Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) was praised as the exemplar of hospitality and mercy by the very people who until recently—indeed, until the day before—had been fighting him with all their power. Now, they joined in an eloquent chorus of praise and gratitude. There was no request which Muhammad (P.B.U.H) did not manage to fulfill for them. When 'Abbas ibn Mirdās complained that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had given more favorable treatment to 'Uyaynah, to al Aqra', and others than to him, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) sent his companions to give him more until he was perfectly satisfied.

Al Ansār and the Reconciliatory Gratuities

The reconciliation of the enemies of yesterday which the Prophet (P.B.U.H) had just effected caused al Ansār to murmur that the Prophet (P.B.U.H) had done what he did because the

people involved were his own tribesmen and people. Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah reported this murmur to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) but sided with them and justified their complaint. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) commanded - him to bring his people together. When they were assembled, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) said:

"O Ansār! It has been reported to me that you were personally angry, that you do not approve of my distribution of the booty. Do tell me, when I came to you, did I not find you languishing in misguidance and error and did not Allah guide you to the truth through me? Did I not find you in a state of need and did not Allah make you affluent? Did I not find you enemies of one another and did not Allah reconcile your hearts ?" Confused, al Ansār answered: "Indeed! Allah and his Prophet (P.B.U.H) have been very generous and very loving ;" and they fell into silence. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) continued: "Will you not then say more than this, O Ansār? By Allah, had you replied, 'Rather, it was you Muhammad (P.B.U.H), who were under our obligation. Did you not come to us belied by your fellow men and did we not believe in you? Did you not come to us vanquished and defeated and did we not come to your rescue? Did you not come to us banished and repulsed and did we not give you shelter? Did you not come to us in want and need and did we not give you of our bounty?' Had you replied to me in this vein you would have said nothing but the truth and I would have had to agree. O Ansār, are you angry because I have given away some goods to those whom I sought to win to Islam? Because I deemed their faith confirmable by material goods whereas I deemed yours to be based on solid conviction, to be candid beyond all dissuasion? Are you not satisfied, O Ansār, that all the people return from this conquest loaded with goods and camels whereas you return with the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H)? By Him who dominates Muhammad's soul (P.B.U.H), except for the fact of my birth, there is no people to whom I love to belong beside al Ansār. If all mankind went one

way, and al Ansār went another, I would certainly choose the way of al Ansar. O Allah, bless al Ansār, their children, and their grandchildren. Show Your mercy to them and keep them under Your protection." The Prophet (P.B.U.H) said these words out of great affection for all the men of al Ansar who had pledged their loyalty and allegiance to him, who had helped him, who had reinforced his ranks and found their strength in him. Indeed, he was so moved by his feelings for them that he cried. The Ansar cried with him and declared their contentment.

Thus the Prophet (P.B.U.H) showed that he was above the temptation of wealth. Although the booty of the Hunayn War surpassed anything he had ever seen, he showed that he had no wish for it. Rather he made of it a means for reconciling the hearts of those who had been associationists. He hoped that they might find in the new faith some happiness in this world besides the happiness of the hereafter. If in distributing this wealth Muhammad (P.B.U.H) encountered such difficulties that the Muslims almost accused him of injustice, and if by giving liberally to those whose hearts he sought to soften he had infuriated al Ansar, he also proved his justice, farsightedness and such deep wisdom in administering the affairs of his people that he was able to cause the thousands to return home happy, contented and prepared to lay down their lives in the cause of Allah. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) left al Ji'rānah to visit the holy places in Makkah. After performing the ***'umrah,*** or lesser pilgrimage, he appointed 'Attab ibn Usayd governor of Makkah, and Mu'ādh ibn Jabal to teach the religion and the Qur'ān. Together with al Ansar and al Muhājirun, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) returned to Madinah to await the birth of his son Ibrahim and to enjoy a moment of peace and security before undertaking the next expedition to Tabūk on the frontiers of al Sham.

26

Ibrahim and the Wives of the Prophet (P.B.U.H)

Effect of the Conquest of Makkah upon the Peninsula

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) returned to Madinah after his conquest of Makkah, his victory at Hunayn, and his siege of al Ta'if. He had convinced all that no power could match his power within the Arabian Peninsula and that no tongue might henceforth vituperate him or spread any false information regarding himself or his cause. Both al Ansār and al Muhājirun returned heartened with joy that Allah had crowned His prophet's (P.B.U.H) endeavor with such success; that He enabled Muhammad (P.B.U.H) to conquer the city of the holy Mosque, that He guided its people to Islam; and that He inspired all Arab tribes to pledge their allegiance, loyalty and obedience to him. They all returned to Madinah in order to settle down in peace. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had taken care to appoint 'Attāb ibn Usayd as governor of Umm al Qura, or Makkah, and Mu'ādh ibn Jabal as teacher of the people in matters of religion and in the Qur'ān. This victory, the like of which the whole history of Arabia and all its traditions have never known, left a profound impression upon the Arabs. Whether lords and masters of land and cities, men to whom it had never occurred that a day might

come when they would be subject to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) or accept his faith as their religion, or poets who labored as mouthpieces of those masters in exchange for their patronage and protection, or, finally, simple tribesmen for whom personal freedom was till death the most priceless possession, the Arabs were all strongly affected by the conquest of Makkah, Hunayn and the siege of al Tā'if. To one and all, it now seemed that the poetry of the poets, the mastery of the chieftains, and the personal freedom of the tribesmen were all to no avail before the tremendous power of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his followers.

Conversion of Ka'b ibn Zuhayr

Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) success among the Arabs of the Peninsula influenced them so profoundly that Bujayr ibn Zuhayr wrote a letter to his brother, Ka'b, after the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) withdrawal from al Ta'if, informing him that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had killed a number of men in Makkah who had slandered his reputation by spreading false rumors concerning him. Bujayr, after informing his brother that a number of these men had run away in all directions, advised him to hurry to Madinah to give himself up and repent. He assured him that the Prophet (P.B.U.H) would not kill anyone who came to him repentent and warned him that unless he was prepared to do so, he should escape to the most distant place on earth to remain alive. Bujayr had indeed told the truth. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) commanded the execution of only four persons, one of whom was a poet who had vituperated the Prophet (P.B.U.H) severely, and two of whom had hurt his daughter, Zaynab, when with her husband's permission, she sought to emigrate to Makkah to join her father. Ka'b recognized the veracity and timeliness of his brother's advice; and, anxious not to spend the rest of his life as an outlaw, he hurried to Madinah, spent the night at a friend's

house, and came to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) in the morning at the mosque to declare his conversion and pledge his allegiance. In the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) presence, Ka'b recited his famous poem which opened with the verse: "Great distance now separates me from Su'ad. My heart is orphaned and bereaved. It awaits the sacrifice which will ransom my beloved." The Prophet (P.B.U.H) forgave him and he became a good Muslim.

Conversion of Zayd al Khayl and Others

Another consequence of the same influence was that the tribes began to come to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) to pledge their allegiance. Such was the case of a delegation headed by Zayd al Khayl who came to Madinah to pledge allegiance of the tribe of Tay'. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) gave the delegation a fair welcome, conversed with their leader, and was so well pleased with him that he said: "No Arab has ever been praised before me but that when I finally met him I discovered that his eulogy surpassed his reality, except Zayd al Khayl concerning whom I had heard less than I have found." The Prophet (P.B.U.H) then changed the name of his guest from Zayd al Khayl (meaning literally, "increase of horses") to Zayd al Khayr ('increase of goodness"), and the whole tribe of Tay' entered into Islam under Zayd's leadership.

'Adiyy ibn Hātim al Tā'iy was a Christian who felt the strongest hatred for Muhammad (P.B.U.H). As he witnessed the rise of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and the Muslims and the spread of their dominion over the Peninsula, he loaded his goods, family, and children on his camel and joined his fellow Christiahs in al Sham. Indeed, 'Adiyy escaped at the very time that 'Ali ibn Abu Tālib destroyed, at the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) command, the idol of Tay' and seized a number of captives, including the daughter of Hatim and sister of 'Adiyy and a large amount of booty.

'Adiyy's sister was brought to Madinah and was held in the captives' quarters by the Mosque's gate. As the Prophet (P.B.U.H) passed through the gate one day, she said to him from behind the bars: "O Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H)! My father has perished and my supporter has deserted. Be merciful to me, that Allah may be merciful to you." When the Prophet (P.B.U.H) learned that her supporter was 'Adiyy ibn Hatim al Ta'iy, the escapee, he refused to talk to her. She tried once more, and this time she succeeded. In conversation, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) mentioned to her her father's old prestige and noble reputation in pre-Islamic days. He praised him for the good name his hospitality had given to all Arabs. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) then granted her her freedom, gave her respectable clothes and pocket money to satisfy her other needs, and sent her to her people with the first al Sham-bound caravan. Upon joining her brother, she mentioned to him the noble treatment Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had accorded her. 'Adiyy was so impressed by the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) chivalry that he returned with her to Madinah and joined the ranks of Islam immediately.

Likewise, following the conquest of Makkah, the victory of al Sham, and the siege of al Ta'if, the great and the poor, the tribes and the individuals, all came to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) to acknowledge his mission and to convert to Islam. In the meantime, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) remained in Madinah and, feeling reassured that Allah has given him victory, he enjoyed a measure of peaceful existence.

Muhammad's (P.B.U.H)Bereavement

The measure of peaceful existence which Muhammad (P.B.U.H) enjoyed was not to last. His daughter, Zaynab, was seriously ill. After al Huwayrith and Habbar hurt her when she attempted to emigrate from Makkah, Zaynab suffered from a

miscarriage from which she never recovered. With her loss, Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) only surviving child was Fatimah, for Umm Kulthūm and Ruqayyah had passed away earlier. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was saddened by the loss of Zaynab. He surely appreciated her compassionate disposition and loyalty to her husband, Abū al 'Asi ibn al Rabi', whom she had ransomed after his fall as captive at the Battle of Badr with jewelry her father had given her on her wedding. It did not matter that she, a Muslim, sought to ransom her husband, an unbeliever; nor that this unbeliever husband had fought against her father in a battle in which, had the Quraysh been victorious, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) would have surely lost his life. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) praised Zaynab's good disposition and strong loyalty to her husband, and bemoaned her suffering from sickness during the whole time since her emigration from Makkah. It is no wonder that he felt bereaved at her loss. He felt the same deep concern for the well-being and happiness of others. It was his nature to sympathize with every sufferer, every bereaved, and to take the trouble to go everywhere within and outside of Madinah to visit the sick, console the destitute, and reassure the wounded. The hand of fate had here touched his own daughter. His tragedy was not the first of its kind, but the fifth, as he had previously lost two of his daughters and two sons. If he had found in Allah's favorable disposition toward him a measure of consolation, he surely well deserved it.

The Birth of Ibrahim, Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) Son

Soon, Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) loss was to be compensated. Mariyah, his Coptic wife, gave birth to a son whom Muhammad called Ibrahim after the ancestor-father of the Arabs as well as of hanifism and Islam. Until that day, and since the Archbishop of Alexandria had presented her to the Prophet (P.B.U.H), Mariyah

had the status of a slave. She did not enjoy the benefits of a living quarter by the mosque as did the other wives of the Prophet (P.B.U.H), "the Mothers of Believers." Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had provided Mariyah with a second-story residence in one of the outskirts of Madinah, called today Mashrabat Umm Ibrahim. Her house, which was surrounded with vineyards, was where Muhammad (P.B.U.H) used to visit her every now and then. He had chosen her for himself and gave her sister Sirin to Hassān ibn Thabit. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) did not expect to have any more children as none of his wives except the late Khadijah had ever conceived, though some of them were quite young and capable of bearing children. When Mariyah gave birth to Ibrahim, the event brought to Muhammad (P.B.U.H), a man past sixty years of age, great joy and filled his heart with reassurance and jubilation. By giving birth to a child, the status of Mariyah was raised in the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) esteem; he now looked upon her as a free wife, indeed, as one enjoying a most favored position.

Jealousy of the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) Wives

It was natural that this change would incite no little jealousy among his other wives who continued to be barren. It was also natural that the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) esteem and affection for the newborn child and his mother increased that jealousy. Moreover, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had liberally rewarded Salma, the wife of Abu Rafi', for her role as midwife. He celebrated the birth by giving away a measure of grain to all the destitute of Madinah. He assigned the newborn to the care of Umm Sayf, a wet nurse, who owned seven goats whose milk she was to put at the disposal of the newborn. Every day Muhammad (P.B.U.H) would visit the house of Mariyah in order to take another look at his son's radiant face and to reassure himself of the newborn's

continued health and growth. All this incited the strongest jealousy among the barren wives. The question was, how far would these wives be able to bear the constant challenge?

One day, with the pride characteristic of new parents, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) carried his son on his arm and walked into 'A'ishah's quarters in order to show him to her. He pointed out to her his great resemblance to his offspring. 'A'ishah looked at the baby and said that she saw no resemblance at all. When the Prophet (P.B.U.H) observed how much the child was growing, 'A'ishah responded waspishly that any child given the amount of milk which Ibrahim was getting would grow just as big and strong as he. Indeed, the birth of Ibrahim brought such disaffection to the wives of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) as would go beyond these and similar unfriendly answers. It reached such proportions that Revelation itself voiced a special condemnation. Undoubtedly, the whole affair had left its imprint on the life of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) as well as on the history of Islam.

Such far-reaching effects were natural in the circumstances. For Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had granted to his wives a position hitherto unknown in Arabia. 'Umar ibn al Khattāb said, "ByAllah, in pre-Islamic days, we never gave consideration to our women. It was only after Allah had revealed in their regard what He did that we started to do so. My wife came once seeking to dissuade me from doing what I had planned to do. When I answered her that this was none of her business, she said: 'How strange of you, 'Umar ibn al Khattāb! You refuse to be told anything whereas your daughter may criticize her husband, the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) and do so so strongly that he remains worried the whole day long.' Upon hearing this, I took my mantle and went straight to my daughter, Hafsah, and said to her: 'O my daughter, is it true that you criticize the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) and do so so strongly that he remains worried the whole day long?' Hafsah answered: 'Indeed, I and his other

wives do criticize him.' I said: 'You had better be warned that this will bring both the punishment of Allah and the wrath of His Prophet (P.B.U.H) upon you. O Daughter, do not be deceived by that woman who became too proud of herself because of her beauty or Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) love for her.' I left my daughter and went to visit Umm Salamah, another wife of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and a close relative of mine. Upon asking her the same question, Umm Salamah replied: 'How strange of you, O Ibn al Khattab! Are you going to interfere in everything, even in the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) own domestic affairs?'" 'Umar continued: "With this I was utterly rebuffed and I abandoned every thought I had entertained." Muslim has related in his ***Sahih*** that Abū Bakr once sought the permission of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) to visit him, and so did 'Umar. Upon entrance into the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) living quarters, they found him sitting still and silent, surrounded by his wives. After announcing that he was about to break the silence with a story which he hoped the Prophet (P.B.U.H) would find entertaining, he said: "O Prophet of Allah, if the daughter of Khārijah,' ***i.e.,*** my wife, were ever seen or heard asking me for money, I would surely pull her hair." The Prophet (P.B.U.H) laughed, saying, "Here are my wives surrounding me and asking me for money." Immediately, Abū Bakr rose to his daughter 'A'ishah and pulled her hair and so did 'Umar to his daughter, Hafsah. Both Abu Bakr and 'Umar said to their daughters: "Do you dare ask the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) what he cannot afford to give?" They answered: "No, by Allah, we do not ask him any such thing." Actually, Abū Bakr and 'Umar had sought to see the Prophet (P.B.U.H) because the latter was conspicuously absent at the previous prayer in the mosque, and the Muslims had asked one another the cause of his absence. It was in connection with this conversation between Abū Bakr and 'Umar and their daughters that the following verse was revealed:

﴿ يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلنَّبِيُّ قُل لِّأَزْوَٰجِكَ إِن كُنتُنَّ تُرِدْنَ ٱلْحَيَوٰةَ ٱلدُّنْيَا وَزِينَتَهَا فَتَعَالَيْنَ أُمَتِّعْكُنَّ وَأُسَرِّحْكُنَّ سَرَاحًا جَمِيلًا ﴿٢٨﴾ وَإِن كُنتُنَّ تُرِدْنَ ٱللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُۥ وَٱلدَّارَ ٱلْءَاخِرَةَ فَإِنَّ ٱللَّهَ أَعَدَّ لِلْمُحْسِنَٰتِ مِنكُنَّ أَجْرًا عَظِيمًا ﴿٢٩﴾ ﴾ سورة الأحزاب الآيتان ٢٨ـ ٢٩

(O Prophet! say to your Consorts: "If it be that you desire the life of this world, and its glitter, then come! I will provide for your enjoyment and set you free in a handsome manner. But if you seek Allah and His Messenger, and the Home of the Hereafter, verily Allah has prepared for the well-doers amongst you a great reward.) (Al-Ahzab: 28-29)

The Wives' Plotting

As a matter of fact, the wives of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) went as far as to plot against their husband. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was in the habit of visiting them immediately after the midafternoon prayer. According to one report, he once visited Hafsah (or Zaynab, daughter of Jahsh according to another version) and paid her an unusually long visit. This made all the other wives jealous. 'A'ishah reported: "Hafsah and I plotted together that any wife whom the Prophet (P.B.U.H) will visit will complain to him that she finds his breath undesirable, and will ask him whether he has eaten any ***maghafir (i.e.,*** sweets with bad smells, and the Prophet (P.B.U.H)could not stand bad smells). As he entered upon one of his wives, she asked him that

question to which he answered: "No, but I have taken some honey at the quarters of Zaynab, which I will never do again." Having agreed to the plot of 'A'ishah and Hafsah, Sawdah related that when the Prophet (P.B.U.H) approached her, she asked him whether he ate any ***maghafir*** to which he answered, "No." She asked him: "Where then does this bad odor come from?" Muhammad (P.B.U.H) replied: "Hafsah gave me a little honey, so then it must be that the bees that made that honey had picked it up from the blooms of the awful tree which produces the ***maghafir.***"

When he entered upon 'A'ishah, the latter repeated to him the question of Sawdah, which he heard again from Safiyyah, whereupon he vowed never to touch that honey again. Upon hearing the other wives reports, Sawdah said: "May Allah be praised! We have deprived him of something he truly likes." 'A'ishah, however, looked askance at Sawdah and asked her to keep quiet.

Since the Prophet (P.B.U.H) granted to his wives such an unusual position at a time when Arab women amounted to nothing at all in society, it was natural for his wives to abūse the liberty which none of their peers had known before, a liberty which went so far as to enable any of them to criticize the Prophet (P.B.U.H) so severely as to spoil his disposition the rest of the day. He often ignored some of his wives, and avoided others on many occasions, precisely in order to discourage their abūse of his compassion. Even so, one of them was so moved by jealousy as to exceed all limits of decency. But when Māriyah gave birth to Ibrahim, they were incensed. They lost all the composure and self-mastery which Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had for years been trying to instill into them. It was for this reason that 'A'ishah had gone to the extreme of denying all resemblance between him and his son, a denial which amounted to an accusation of adultery on the part of the innocent Mariyah.

Their Rebellion

One day Hafsah went to her father's house complaining about this situation. While the Prophet (P.B.U.H) was in her room, Mariyah came to him and stayed with him some time. Upon Hafsah's return she found the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and Mariyah in her quarters and, as she waited for them to come out, her jealousy broke all bounds. When, finally, Māriyah left the quarters and Hafsah entered, she said to the Prophet (P.B.U.H): "I have seen who was here. By Allah, that was an insult to me. You would not have dared do that if I amounted to anything at all in your eyes." At the moment Muhammad (P.B.U.H) realized that such deep-lying jealousy might even move Hafsah to broadcast what she had seen among the other wives. In an attempt to please her, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) promised that he would not go unto Māriyah if she would only refrain from broadcasting what she had seen. Hafsah promised to comply. However, she could not keep her promise as jealousy continued to affect her disposition. Hence, she intimated the secret to 'A'ishah, who in turn reported it to the Prophet (P.B.U.H). He took it as evidence of Hafsah's failure to keep her promise. Perhaps the affair did not stop with Hafsah and 'A'ishah but spread to the other wives. Perhaps, too, all of them had noticed the high esteem in which Mariyah was held and sympathized with 'A'ishah and Hafsah's opposition to the Prophet (P.B.U.H). There is nothing unusual in the whole story, such gossip and petty jealousies being commonplace between man and his many wives. A man's affection belongs where he puts it within his household, and the controversy which the daughters of Abū Bakr and 'Umar had woven around the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) affection for Mariyah was utterly groundless. Previously we had seen that some disaffection had risen between the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and his wives on various occasions because of the

pocket money he allocated to them, or because of the honey Zaynab used to serve. Therefore, they had all the more reason to feel slighted and no little alienated when they discovered their husband's inclination toward 'A'ishah or his esteem for Mariyah.

An explosion was soon to come. One day, while the Prophet (P.B.U.H) was staying with 'A'ishah, his other wives delegated Zaynab, daughter of Jahsh, to go in and, in their name, to accuse him of injustice and unfairness to them, and to plead that his love for 'A'ishah was a violation of the code which he himself had set down of a day and night for each of his wives. On the other hand, realizing that the Prophet (P.B.U.H) did not care very much for her charms, and being no longer anxious to please him, Sawdah had given up her day and night to 'A'ishah. But Zaynab was not satisfied with expressing the other wives' indignation at this apparent injustice. She attacked 'A'ishah personally. The latter was anxious to defend herself, but kept still in response to the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) reconciliating pleas. Seeing that 'A'ishah was defenseless, Zaynab went to excess in her accusations, and the Prophet (P.B.U.H) finally had to permit his favorite wife to take her defense into her own hands. 'A'ishah spoke out with great eloquence in refuting Zaynab's claims. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) listened with obvious satisfaction and admired the perspicacity of Abu Bakr's daughter.

Indeed, favoritism for some of his wives had created such controversy and antagonism among the "Mothers of the Believers" that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) once thought of divorcing some of them, but they soon agreed to let him distribute his favors as he pleased. When Māriyah gave birth to Ibrahim, their jealousy was at its strongest, especially in the case of 'A'ishah. Certainly, Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) leniency and gentleness encouraged rebellion, and the new status which he had conferred upon women in society fanned their vanity. Muhammad (P.B.U.H), however, was not free to spend his time dealing with

household problems. The need soon came to be felt for a decisive lesson to reestablish discipline and to liberate him for teaching the message and fulfilling the mission of his prophethood. Hence, he decided to ignore his wives and, indeed, to threaten them with divorce. A lesson had to be taught to them, and the time had apparently come for a decision. Either these women were to return to reason or they would be given their freedom in a mutually convenient divorce.

The Prophet's (P.B.U.H) Separation from His Wives

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) isolated himself from all his women for a full month and refused to talk about them to anyone. Nor did anyone dare talk to him concerning them. During this month, his mind was absorbed by his mission and the requirement of carrying the message of Islam beyond the Arabian Peninsula. Abu Bakr, 'Umar, and his other in-laws as well, were deeply concerned over the sad fate that awaited the "Mothers of the Believers" now that they had exposed themselves to the anger of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and the consequent punishment of Allah. It was even said that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had divorced Hafsah, 'Umar's daughter, after she had divulged the secret she had promised to keep. The marketplace of Madinah hummed with rumors about the impending divorce of the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) wives. The wives, for their part, were repentent and apprehensive. They regretted that their jealousy of one another had carried them away, that they had abūsed and harmed their gentle husband who was to each one of them at all times an elder brother, a corn passionate father, a nearest kin, and the best of everything that might be hoped for in this life and the next. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) spent most of his time in a storeroom he owned, placing his servant Rabāh at its doorstep as long as he was inside. Therein he used to sleep on a very hard bed of coarse date branches.

'Umar's Reconciliation of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and His Wives

At the end of the month during which Muhammad (P.B.U.H) vowed to separate himself from his wives, the Muslims were despondent over the prospect of Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) domestic affairs. Many signs of dejection and sorrow were apparent on their faces as they gathered in the mosque. 'Umar ibn al Khattāb sought out the Prophet (P.B.U.H) in his isolation. He went to the storeroom and called out to his servant, Rabāh, asking for permission to enter. Rabāh went in to speak to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) hut came out silent, a sign that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) did not wish to see anyone. 'Umar asked once more. Once more Rabāh went in and came out silent. At this, Umar raised his voice that the Prophet (P.B.U.H) might hear and, repeating his request for an audience, said: "O Rabah, seek permission for me to see the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H). I fear that he thinks that I have come to intercede for my daughter, Hafsah. By Allah, if he were to ask me to strike off her head, I would do so without hesitation.' The Prophet (P.B.U.H) then permitted him to enter. He came ***in,*** sat down as his eyes roved around the room, and began to cry. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) asked him why he was crying. Actually 'Umar cried out of severe shock at seeing the Prophet (P.B.U.H) lying on the only piece of furniture in the room, the miserable straw mat, whose pattern of weaving had imprinted itself on the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) side. He cried out of compassion for the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) isolation in a room absolutely empty except for a little barley, a skin, and a small container of water. After hearing 'Umar's explanation, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) taught him a lesson on the necessity of renouncing the pleasures of the world in order to achieve inner peace. 'Umar then said: "O Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), what difficulties do your wives present? If you have truly lost them through divorce, you still have God, His angels Jibril and

Mikha'il, Abu Bakr and me, and all the Muslims on your side." He kept on talking to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) in this vein until the latter felt pleased and even smiled. As the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) mood changed for the better, 'Umar told him about the despondency of the Muslims gathered in the mosque and their bemoaning of his separation from his wives. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) explained that he had not divorced his wives but that he meant only to teach them a lesson. 'Umar immediately asked for and was granted permission to inform the Muslims waiting in the mosque. He hurried thither to announce the good news that the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) had not divorced his wives. It was in connection with this incident that the following verses of the Qur'ān were revealed:

﴿ يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلنَّبِيُّ لِمَ تُحَرِّمُ مَآ أَحَلَّ ٱللَّهُ لَكَ ۖ تَبْتَغِى مَرْضَاتَ أَزْوَٰجِكَ ۚ وَٱللَّهُ غَفُورٌ رَّحِيمٌ ۝١ قَدْ فَرَضَ ٱللَّهُ لَكُمْ تَحِلَّةَ أَيْمَٰنِكُمْ ۚ وَٱللَّهُ مَوْلَىٰكُمْ ۖ وَهُوَ ٱلْعَلِيمُ ٱلْحَكِيمُ ۝٢ وَإِذْ أَسَرَّ ٱلنَّبِيُّ إِلَىٰ بَعْضِ أَزْوَٰجِهِۦ حَدِيثًا فَلَمَّا نَبَّأَتْ بِهِۦ وَأَظْهَرَهُ ٱللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ عَرَّفَ بَعْضَهُۥ وَأَعْرَضَ عَنۢ بَعْضٍ ۖ فَلَمَّا نَبَّأَهَا بِهِۦ قَالَتْ مَنْ أَنۢبَأَكَ هَٰذَا ۖ قَالَ نَبَّأَنِىَ ٱلْعَلِيمُ ٱلْخَبِيرُ ۝٣ إِن تَتُوبَآ إِلَى ٱللَّهِ فَقَدْ صَغَتْ قُلُوبُكُمَا ۖ وَإِن تَظَٰهَرَا عَلَيْهِ فَإِنَّ ٱللَّهَ هُوَ مَوْلَىٰهُ وَجِبْرِيلُ وَصَٰلِحُ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ ۖ وَٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ بَعْدَ ذَٰلِكَ ظَهِيرٌ ۝٤ عَسَىٰ رَبُّهُۥٓ إِن طَلَّقَكُنَّ أَن يُبْدِلَهُۥٓ أَزْوَٰجًا خَيْرًا مِّنكُنَّ مُسْلِمَٰتٍ مُّؤْمِنَٰتٍ قَٰنِتَٰتٍ تَٰٓئِبَٰتٍ عَٰبِدَٰتٍ سَٰٓئِحَٰتٍ ثَيِّبَٰتٍ وَأَبْكَارًا ۝٥ ﴾

سورة التحريم الآيات ١-٥

(O Prophet! Why do you hold to be forbidden that which Allah has made lawful to you, you seek to please your consorts? But Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful. Allah has already ordained for you, the expiation of your oaths (in some cases): and Allah is your Protector, and He is Full of Knowledge and Wisdom. When the Prophet disclosed a matter of confidence to one of his consorts, and she then divulged it (to another), and Allah made it known to him, he confirmed part thereof and passed over a part. Then when he told her thereof, she said, "Who told you this?" He said, "He told me Who the Knower, the Aware If you two turn in repentance to Allah, your hearts are indeed so inclined; but if you back up each other against him, truly Allah is his Protector, and Gabriel, and (every) righteous one among those who believe, and furthermore, the angels will back (him) up. It may be, if he divorced you (all), that Allah will give him in exchange Consorts better than you, who submit (their wills), who believe, who are devout, who turn to Allah in repentance, who worship (in humility), who fast, previously married or virgins.) (At-Tahrim:1-5)

With this Revelation, the whole affair was brought to a close. The wives of the Prophet (P.B.U.H), having regained their wisdom and common sense, returned to their husband repentant, pious, and confirmed in their faith. Once reconciled by their repentance, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) returned to his wives and his domestic life resumed its peace—the necessary prerequisite for any man with a mission to perform.

The Judgment of Critical Historiography

In my opinion, the foregoing is the true account of the story of Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) self-imposed isolation from his

wives, of the choice he gave them, of the incidents which led to his isolation as well as of its causes and consequences. This account is confirmed by all the evidence of the books of Qur'ānic exegesis and of Hadith, as well as by the accounts of various biographies. The fact remains, however, that not one of these biographies has presented all these data in the proper sequence, beginning with the causes and ending with the consequences in the manner we have done here. Most of the biographers have passed by this matter too quickly and too simplistically. They give the impression that they found the material too rough to handle. Some accounts have pondered the story of the honey and ***maghafir*** at length but have omitted to point to the affair of Hafsah and Mariyah. As for the Orientalists, they regard the story of Hafsah and Māriyah and the former's divulgence to 'A'ishah of the secret she promised to keep as the cause of all that had happened. Their purpose is precisely to add to their already alienated readers further occasion to condemn the Arab Prophet (P.B.U.H) by presenting him as a shameless runner after women. It is also my considered opinion that the Muslim historians are not justified in ignoring these incidents, or in omitting to examine all the data available with a view to giving them an objective interpretation. That is what we have sought to do here, though only in part. While the mistake of the Muslim historians was to underestimate the importance of these events, that of the western Orientalists is to exaggerate their importance, to violate historiographic precision, and to vent their Christian prejudice. Genuine historical criticism will not attribute to any man as great as Muhammad (P.B.U.H) such a petty conduct as would be implied by referring his self-imposed exile solely to Hafsah's divulgence of a domestic secret to 'A'ishah. In fact, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had nothing to hide since the women in question were all his own legitimate wives. Indeed, whatever the nature of that domestic secret, it is too insignificant to cause Muhammad (P.B.U.H) to threaten to divorce all his

wives. Genuine historical criticism would also refuse to explain these events as due to the "honey" affair. A man as great, forbearing, and compassionate as Muhammad (P.B.U.H), as all historians and biographers acknowledge, would not regard such incidents as justifying a whole month's isolation, let alone divorce. The critical attitude is satisfied only when all these incidents are arranged in such historical sequence as would not violate the causal interrelationships between them. Only such history-writing satisfies the requirements of objectivity and presents its data as elements in factual interrelationships acceptable to reason. The arrangement we have given these events seems to us to have achieved precisely this, and to accord perfectly with what is known of Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) wisdom, greatness, determination and farsightedness.

Refutation of the Orientalists' Claim

Referring to some of the verses at the beginning of ***surah*** "Al Tahrim" quoted above, some orientalists argue that none of the holy books of the Orient make any mention of domestic problems such as those of Muhammad (P.B.U.H). I do not think we need to quote here the similar stories and accounts of other scriptures. Suffice it to mention here the People of Lot and their argument with the two angelic visitors of Lot, the story of Lot's wife and her vagrancies. Indeed, the Torah does tell the story of Lot's two daughters, of their deliberately intoxicating their father with wine that he might commit incest and save their seed, and how they then suffered the punishment they deserved. We may say that in fact, contrary to the Orientalists claim, all the holy books have told stories about the prophets and have given accounts of what happened to them so that they might serve as examples for the education of mankind. Likewise, the Qur'ān tells many stories for the same purpose, stories which Allah

related to His prophets for the best of purposes. The Qur'ān was not revealed for Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) benefit alone but for that of all men. Muhammad is a prophet and a messenger preceded by many prophets and messengers, some of whose tales the Qur'ān took upon itself to tell. That the Qur'ān should find it fitting to tell some of the stories of Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) life and to give some account of his biography to provide examples for the education of Muslims, and that it should find it fitting to give aspects of Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) wise, pious, and virtuous conduct so that the Muslims might find in him an example to emulate, is no different from the contents and purpose of any other holy book. Moreover, what the Qur'ān reported about Muhammad (P.B.U.H) is not different in content or purpose from what it reported of the lives of the former prophets. If, therefore, it is now asserted that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) isolated himself from his wives, not for any single reason deducible from that fact, nor for Hafsah's divulgence to 'A'ishah of Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) legitimate love for Mariyah—a right which belongs to any man toward his free and slave wives—this would not be far from the truth. But it does expose the Orientalists whose claim stands on the shallowest grounds and whose historiography flies in the face of the biographical data common to all holy scriptures.

27

Campaign of Tabūk and the Death of Ibrahim

Institution of Zakāt and Kharāj

All the foregoing conflicts between the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and his wives did not in the least affect the conduct of public affairs. After the conquest of Makkah and the conversion of its people, the cause of Islam confronted less danger than hitherto. The whole Peninsula had begun to feel the passing of inter-Arab war. The holy sanctuary held as sacred by the Arabs, to which they had performed pilgrimages for generations, had become an integral institution of the new religion. Its attendant functions of ***sidānah, rifadah,*** and ***siqayah*** had been equally integrated into the order of Islam as Makkah passed under the control of Muhammad (P.B.U.H). The conquest of Makkah therefore led to a strengthening of public Muslim life and civil order, and the Muslims felt more confident as their power increased everywhere throughout the Peninsula. With the widening of Muslim society, public functions naturally demanded an increase in public expense. It was therefore inevitable that the Muslims be asked to pay ***zakāt*** of ***al 'ushr;*** and that the Arabs who decided

to maintain their pre-Islāmic faith to pay whatever ***khardj*** was imposed upon them. Taxes are always uncomfortable, and taxpayers might always complain or even rebel against them. Nonetheless, the new order imposed by the new religion on the Peninsula necessitated a large public expense, impossible to meet without the additional incomes from ***zakat at 'ushr*** and ***kharāj.*** For this purpose, soon after his return from Makkah, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) sent his collectors to levy and collect a tenth of the income of the tribes now converted to Islam. He commanded the collectors explicitly to restrict themselves to the incomes, never to touch the people's capitals. These collectors went in different directions to fulfill their duty.

The tribes welcomed the collectors and remitted to them the amounts due wholeheartedly with the exceptions of a branch of the tribe of Banu Tamim and another of Baun al Mustaliq which refused to pay. While the collector, 'Uyaynah ibn Hisn ,was in the neighborhood making collections, a branch of Banū Tamim, called Banū al 'Anbar, jumped upon him with their arrows and swords and threw him out of their territory even before he had asked them to remit their due When 'Uyaynah ibn Hisn told the news to Muhammad (P.B.U.H), he was sent right back at the head of fifty riders to reestablish order. 'Uyaynah launched a surprise attack against the Banū al 'Anbar, captured over fifty men, women, and children and seized some of their wealth. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) received the captives and the seized properties and kept them in Madinah. Some of the Banū Tamim had been converted to Islam a long time before and had fought alongside the Prophet (P.B.U.H) in the battles of Makkah and Hunayn while others were still unconverted. When these Muslims knew what their relatives, the Banu al 'Anbar, ḥad done and what had happened to them, they sent a delegation of notables to seek the Prophet (P.B.U.H). They asked for an audience in the Mosque of Madinah calling out to the Prophet

(P.B.U.H) to come out to meet them. This impropriety disturbed the Prophet (P.B.U.H) so much that he decided not to see them. Soon, however, the time of prayer arrived and 'Utārid ibn Hājib called the Prophet (P.B.U.H) to lead the worship in the mosque as was his custom. After prayer, the delegation approached the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and related to him what 'Uyaynah had done with their people. They took especial pains to remind him of his comradeship in arms with those of them who had joined Islam as well as of their high esteem among the Arabs. They then said to him, "We have come here in order to compete with your followers in poetic eloquence and rhetoric. Would you please permit our poet to recite some of his poems for you?" 'Utārid ibn Hājib, their orator, rose and delivered his speech. When he finished, the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) called Thābit ibn Qays to respond; when he finished, al Zabriqan ibn Badr, their other poet, rose and recited his eulogy in verse, whereupon Hassān ibn Thābit responded in verse also. When this contest was ended, al Aqra ibn Hābis said, "I swear that this man *(i.e.,* Muhammad) is surely going to win, for his orator is more eloquent and his poet more poetic than ours. Indeed, the voices of the Muslims are higher than our voices." With this confession, the tribesmen converted to Islam, and the Prophet (P.B.U.H) set the captives free and enabled them to return home.

When the Banū al Mustaliq saw the tax collectors run away, they feared the consequences and immediately sent word to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) explaining to him that the ***zakāf*** collector has nothing to fear from their quarter and that the whole affair with Banū al 'Anbar was a regrettable misunderstanding Indeed, not one of the provinces of the Arabian Peninsula failed to feel the power of Muhammad (P.B.U.H). Every tribe or clan that attempted to resist faced the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) overwhelming power and was compelled either to convert to Islam and pay the ***zokāt*** or submit to Muslim political power and pay the ***kharaj.***

The Threat of Byzantine Invasion and Muslim, Reaction

While still engaged in bringing security and order to the distant regions of the Peninsula, the news reached Muhammad (P.B.U.H) that Byzantium was mobilizing an army to invade the northern approaches of Arabia to avenge the last engagement at Mu'tah. It was also rumored that this imperial army would seek to stamp out the nascent power of the Muslims who now stood at the frontier of both the Byzantine and Persian empires. At once and without hesitation, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) decided that the imperial army must be met and destroyed so completely that the Byzantines would not think again of attacking Arabia or interfering in its affairs. It was autumn, but the desert heat, being greater in the beginning of autumn than in summer, was all the more deadly. Moreover, a long distance separated Madinah from al Sham. Any venture to cross it required great amounts of water and provisions. Inevitably, therefore, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had to tell the people of his plan if they were to prepare themselves adequately. Equally, it was necessary this time to alter his old diversionary strategy of ordering the army to march in the opposite direction, for no such expedition as he was preparing for could be kept a secret. Indeed, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) sent messengers to all the tribes asking them to mobilize the greatest army ever, and to the Muslims of large means everywhere to give liberally for the equipment of the army. The Muslim force, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) decided, should be so large and preponderous as to overwhelm an enemy long known for their numbers and military equipment.

The Muslim's Response to Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) Call to Arms

How were the Muslims to receive this new call to leave their

families and properties in the height of summer heat, to venture in desolate and waterless deserts, and to confront an enemy powerful enough to defeat Persia and even too mighty to be defeated by the Muslims? Would their Islamic conviction, love for the Prophet (P.B.U.H), and loyalty to Allah's religion inspire them to give up wealth, armour, and life, and to do so in such proportion as to instill terror in the heart of such an enemy? Or, would the discomforts of desert and summer heat, of thirst and hunger, force them to sit back and refuse to move? In those days, Muslim ranks included two kinds of people: those who entered Islam with hearts full of guidance and light and minds certain of their convictions, and those who did so in search of material gain or out of fear of Muslim arms. Those who belonged to the former group volunteered their own persons and offered all the equipment they could muster. They put themselves and their wealth entirely at the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) disposal. Among them were the poor who walked on foot and the wealthy who provided for themselves and others. All hoped for martyrdom and closeness to Allah. The other group complained and looked for excuses to justify their recalcitrance. Secretly, they derided Muhammad's call to arms and ridiculed its timing and strategy. These were the ***munafiqūn*** about whom ***surah*** "Al Tawbah" had spoken. How great was its call to ***jihād!*** And how terrible the punishment it promised to he who failed to answer the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) call!

Al Munafiqūn

Some of the ***munafiqun*** counseled one another not to venture out in the desert at that time. In response to them, Allah said:

﴿ وَقَالُوا۟ لَا تَنفِرُوا۟ فِى ٱلْحَرِّ ۗ قُلْ نَارُ جَهَنَّمَ أَشَدُّ حَرًّا ۚ لَّوْ كَانُوا۟ يَفْقَهُونَ ﴿٨١﴾ فَلْيَضْحَكُوا۟ قَلِيلًا وَلْيَبْكُوا۟ كَثِيرًا جَزَآءًۢ بِمَا كَانُوا۟ يَكْسِبُونَ ﴿٨٢﴾ ﴾ سورة التوبة الآيتان ٨١-٨٢

(Those who were left behind (in the Tabuk expedition) rejoiced in their sitting behind the Messenger of Allah: they hated to strive and fight, with their goods and their persons, in the Cause of Allah: they said, "Go not forth in the heat." Say, "The fire of Hell is fiercer in heat." If only they could understand! Let them laugh a little: much will they weep: a recompense for the (evil) that they do.)
(At-Tawbah: 81-82)

The Prophet (P.B.U.H) asked an older tribesman of Banū Salamah: "Uncle, will you fight the Byzantines ?" The man answered: "O Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), permit me to stay behind and do not tempt me. For I am known to be a ladies' man and I am especially weak in front of Byzantine women." Commenting upon him, the Qur'ān said:

﴿ وَمِنْهُم مَّن يَقُولُ ٱئْذَن لِّى وَلَا تَفْتِنِّىٓ ۚ أَلَا فِى ٱلْفِتْنَةِ سَقَطُوا۟ ۗ وَإِنَّ جَهَنَّمَ لَمُحِيطَةٌۢ بِٱلْكَٰفِرِينَ ﴿٤٩﴾ ﴾ سورة التوبة آية ٤٩

(Among them is (many) a man who says: "Grant me exemption and draw me not into trial." Have they not fallen into trial already? And indeed Hell surrounds the Unbelievers (on all sides) (At-Tawbah: 49)

Those who in secret hated Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and resented his leadership seized the opportunity to strengthen the ***munafiqun's*** suspicion and disobedience. Fearing that they might get bolder unless they were shown some firmness, and learning that they were meeting in the house of a Jew called Suwaylim, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) angrily sent Talhah ibn 'Ubaydullah to deal with them. Talhah and his companions put Suwaylim's house on fire while the ***munafiqun*** were meeting inside. As the flames engulfed the house, one of them jumped from the roof and broke his leg. The others escaped without injury, but they never dared to meet again in Madinah.

Recruitment of Jaysh at 'Usrah

This firmness in dealing with the ***muniafiqun*** was not devoid of effects on all fronts. Even the wealthy Muslims came out to spend more liberally of their wealth in equipping the army. 'Uthman ibn 'Affān alone spent one thousand Dinārs. Many others spent of their wealth each according to his means. Those who were capable of equipping themselves did so on their own. But there were many others who offered all they had: their energies and their lives. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) took as many of them as he could equip and apologized to the rest. These wept in sorrow at their poverty and were for this reason called at ***bakka'un,*** or "the weepers." The army was finally assembled and counted thirty thousand men. Because of the difficulties encountered in its mobilization, this army was given the name ***Jaysh al 'Usrah,*** or the "hardship army."

The Muslims' March

While Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was busy settling the affairs of Madinah handing over the reins of government to Muhammad

ibn Maslamah, appointing 'Ali ibn Abu Tālib as guardian of his household and giving to each the necessary instruction she left the army under the command of Abū Bakr. The latter led the assembled men in prayer, and when the Prophet (P.B.U.H) returned, he handed the command back to him. Responding to Muhammad's call (P.B.U.H), 'Abdullah ibn Ubayy came out at the head of a little band of soldiers and asked for permission to march alongside the Muslim army. The Prophet (P.B.U.H), however, preferred that 'Abdullah stay in Madinah, for he was not quite sure of his good faith. At Muhammad's command (P.B.U.H), the army began its march, raising great dust and making a tremendous roar. The people of Madinah hurried to the rooftops to see this great mass of men, animals, and equipment move toward al Sham. They were anxious to catch a glimpse of this large mass of humanity venturing out against heat, thirst, and all kinds of hardship in order to fulfill their duty to Allah and to win His pleasure, the pleasure which they had deemed worthier than all the good things they had left behind. Indeed, the sight of this army on the march pioneered by ten thousand cavalrymen and the stupefied people of Madinah watching it, moved to action those whom the very command of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) failed to stir. Such was the case of Abū Khaythamah who, after seeing the Muslim army, went straight to his house where each of his two wives had cooked for him a delicious meal, drew some fresh water to drink, and sprinkled the tent and surroundings to cool off the place. Abu Khaythamah could not advance into his own house a single step before exclaiming, "The Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) is battling the heat, sand, and thirst of the desert and I, Abu Khaythamah, languish in the cool, eat delicious food, and enjoy the company of beautiful women? No, by Allah, that cannot be! Prepare for me quickly some provisions that I may join him." He shot off like an arrow. There were probably many more who did likewise after realizing the shame that would befall them if they remained in the city.

Encampment at Al Hijr

The army arrived at al Hijr where the rock-hewn remains of Thamud stood, and the Prophet (P.B.U.H) commanded the army to dismount for a watering and a brief rest. When it was time to leave, he ordered against drinking the water or using it for ablutions. "If you have used any of it to knead bread," he said, "give your dough in the camels and do not eat it. Let no one go out into the open desert alone." Muhammad (P.B.U.H) knew that the place was desolate and often struck by blinding sand storms. Two men disobeyed and went out of camp. One was carried away by the wind and the other buried in the sand. When morning came and the people saw that the sandstorm had filled the well with sand, they panicked. Soon rain fell upon them from a passing cloud. They drank, filled their skins, and felt reassured. Some of them thought this was a miracle. Others thought it was only a passing cloud.

Byzantine Withdrawal, Covenants of Peace with the North

The army then marched in the direction of Tabūk. News of its approach had already reached the Byzantines who immediately withdrew to the safety of their hinterland. When Muhammad (P.B.U.H) learned of their fear and withdrawal, he saw no reason to pursue them within their territory. Instead, he roamed over the border inviting all either to fight or befriend him. Hs purpose was to secure the frontiers of Arabia. Yūhannā ibn Ru'bah, Governor of Aylah, received such an invitation. He came in person carrying a golden cross, presented gifts, declared his submission, and handed over the keys of his island to the Prophet (P.B.U.H). So did the people of al Jarbā' and Adhruh, and they all paid the Tribute ***jizyah.*** The Prophet (P.B.U.H) gave each of them a covenant which read as the following document

given to Yūhannā. "In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. This is a covenant of security granted under Allah by Muhammad, the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), to Yuhannā ibn Ru'bah and the people of Aylah. Their ships, vehicles, and routes on land and on sea are secure under Allah's guaranty and Muhammad's (P.B.U.H). So are all those who accompany them whether of the peoples of al Sham, Yaman, or beyond the seas. Whoever among them perpetrates a crime shall be liable for it in his own person, and it shall be legitimate for Muhammad (P.B.U.H) to confiscate his wealth. It shall not be legitimate to prevent any one of them from using a well or a road on land or sea which they have been in the habit of using." When the Prophet (P.B.U.H) applied his seal to the document, he presented Yuhannā with a mantle woven in Yaman and showed him every courtesy, respect, and friendship. It was further agreed that Aylah would remit a yearly ***jizyah*** of three hundred Dinārs.

Ibn al Walid's Campaign against Dūmah

With the withdrawal of the Byzantines and the binding of the frontier provinces with treaties and covenants of peace, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had no reason to march any further. The only one he feared was Ukaydir ibn 'Abd al Malik al Kindi, the Christian prince of Dumah. This prince was suspected of preparing to launch a treacherous attack as soon as the Byzantine forces could return. Taking no chances, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) sent Khālid ibn al Walid with five hundred cavalrymen to deal with this threat and commanded the army to return to Madinah. Khālid hurried to Dumah and, discovering that its king was out on a hunting trip with his brother Hassān, attacked it without finding any appreciable resistance outside the city; its gates, however, remained tightly closed. Khālid seized Ukaydir and his brother Hassān as they returned home. He killed Hassān and

threatened to kill Ukaydir unless the gates of the city were opened. Ukaydir and his city yielded. After seizing two thousand camels, eight hundred goats, four hundred loads of grain, and four hundred coats of arms, Khālid carried them, together with his captive, Prince Ukaydir, to Madinah. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) offered Islam to Ukaydir, and the latter converted. He was then reinstated on his throne and became the Prophet's ally (P.B.U.H).

The Muslims' Return to Madina

Leading all these thousands of troops back to Madinah across the wide wastes which separate it from al Sham required no little feat of leadership on the part of Muhammad (P.B.U.H). Not many of them understood the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) purpose or saw the value of the treaties he concluded with Aylah and other northern states. Evidently they could not appreciate the fact that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) has thereby guaranteed the frontiers of Arabia and created buffer zones between it and Byzantium. All they saw was the plain fact that they had crossed long desert wastes full of hardships, lingered in the vicinity of Tabūk some twenty days, and returned without a fight, without capturing anyone, or seizing anything. Was this reason enough to justify their leaving Madinah at harvest time? Some of them began to whisper to one another derisive remarks about the whole expedition. Others, more faithful, reported the rumors to the Prophet (P.B.U.H). Muhammad (P.B.U.H) dealt with the guilty, sometimes harshly and sometimes with leniency, his purpose being to maintain discipline in the body of the army. When the army was just about to enter Madinah, Khālid ibn al Walid caught up with and joined them, together with his captive Ukaydir and the booty he seized from Dumah. Ukaydir wore a golden, brocaded garment which caught the attention of everyone in Madinah.

The Recalcitrants

Upon the Muslims return, those who failed to answer the call to mobilize and remained behind came to give account of their failure. They were given such harsh judgment that all those of questionable faith, including those soldiers who derided the outcome of the campaign just concluded, trembled in fear or changed their minds. The recalcitrants presented their reasons which were anything but spurious. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) listened and, for the most part, let them go free pending Allah's final judgment. Three others told the truth frankly but repentantly. They were Ka'b ibn Malik, Murarah ibn al Rabi', and Hilāl ibn Umayyah. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) ordered them to be boycotted by the Muslims for fifty days, after which they were forgiven and rehabilitated within the community. In this regard the following verses of the Qur'ān were revealed:

﴿ لَّقَد تَّابَ ٱللَّهُ عَلَى ٱلنَّبِيِّ وَٱلْمُهَٰجِرِينَ وَٱلْأَنصَارِ ٱلَّذِينَ
ٱتَّبَعُوهُ فِي سَاعَةِ ٱلْعُسْرَةِ مِنۢ بَعْدِ مَا كَادَ يَزِيغُ قُلُوبُ فَرِيقٖ مِّنْهُمْ ثُمَّ
تَابَ عَلَيْهِمْ إِنَّهُۥ بِهِمْ رَءُوفٞ رَّحِيمٞ ﴿١١٧﴾ وَعَلَى ٱلثَّلَٰثَةِ ٱلَّذِينَ
خُلِّفُواْ حَتَّىٰٓ إِذَا ضَاقَتْ عَلَيْهِمُ ٱلْأَرْضُ بِمَا رَحُبَتْ وَضَاقَتْ عَلَيْهِمْ
أَنفُسُهُمْ وَظَنُّوٓاْ أَن لَّا مَلْجَأَ مِنَ ٱللَّهِ إِلَّآ إِلَيْهِ ثُمَّ تَابَ عَلَيْهِمْ لِيَتُوبُوٓاْ
إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ هُوَ ٱلتَّوَّابُ ٱلرَّحِيمُ ﴿١١٨﴾ ﴾ سورة التوبة الآيتان ١١٧-١١٨

Allah turned with favour to the Prophet, the (Allah Allah turned with favour to the Prophet the Muhajirs, and the Ansar, who followed him in a time of distress, after that

the hearts of a part of them had nearly swerved (from duty): but He turned to them (also): for He is unto them Most Kind, Most Merciful. (He turned in mercy also) to the three who were left behind: (they felt guilty) to such a degree that the earth seemed constrained to them, for all its spaciousness, and their (very) Souls seemed straitened to them, and they perceived that there is no fleeing from Allah (and no refuge) but to Him. Then He turned to them, that they might repent: (for Allah is Oft-Returning, Most Merciful.)

(At-Tawbah:117-118)

Severe Treatment of the Munafiqun

From then on, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) dealt more and more severely with the ***munāfiqun,*** whose presence and influence among the Muslims became increasingly grave and demanded decisive solution. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) did not doubt Allah's promise to give His religion victory and His word power, or that the Muslims would soon increase in very large numbers. Previously, when Islam was limited to the confines of Madinah and its vicinity, it was possible for him personally to supervise all Muslim affairs. Now that Islam had spread to the farthest reaches of Arabia and stood ready to cross its frontiers, any leniency toward the ***munāfiqun*** might lead to grave consequences. Hence, there was all the more reason for the Prophet (P.B.U.H) to eradicate this source of potential disruption. A group of ***munāfiqun*** built a mosque at Dhu Awān, an hour's ride from Madinah, wherein to meet to concoct and plan their divisive strategy and misinterpret and misrepresent the words of Allah to the people. Before he left for the campaign of Tabuk, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) was even asked by them to dedicate their mosque. The time, however, was pressing and the

Prophet (P.B.U.H) asked to be excused. After his return, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) learned more about this group and their purposes, and hence ordered their mosque assigned to the flames. The ***munafiqun*** shook with fear and went into hiding. Henceforth, there remained only their elder, 'Abdullah ibn Ubayy, to lead and protect them.

'Abdullah, however, did not live long after Tabuk. He fell ill two months later and died. To the knowledge of everyone, 'Abdullah nursed the strongest hatred and resentment for the Prophet (P.B.U.H) ever since the Hijrah. This notwithstanding, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was careful enough to let no Muslim inflict any harm upon him. Indeed, more. When he learned of 'Abdullah's death, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was quick to conduct a funeral service for him, to pray for him, and to see to it that he was given proper burial. With 'Abdullah's passing, however, the ***munafiqun*** lost their strongest pillar, and most of them hurried thereafter to repentance and genuine faith.

The Prophet's (P.B.U.H)Last Campaign

With the campaign of Tabuk, the word of Allah became supreme throughout the whole Peninsula. Arab frontiers became secure and the peoples of Arabia began to enter Islam ***en masse*** and to merge into greater unity under Muhammad (P.B.U.H). The campaign of Tabūk was the last one the Prophet (P.B.U.H) conducted. Henceforth, he remained in Madinah contented with what Allah had done for him. His son, Ibrahim, who was then sixteen or eighteen months old, was to him a source of constant joy. Whenever he finished with the day's official engagements and receptions, and satisfied himself that his duties to Allah, family, and friends were fulfilled, he would sit with his son, fondling and playing with him. He watched his son grow, become daily more resembling his father and, like any other

father, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) became more and more attached to him. Throughout these months the child was in the care of his nurse Umm Sayf, to whom Muhammad (P.B.U.H) gave some goats to complement her milk supply.

Illness and Death of Ibrahim

Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) attachment to his son had nothing to do with either his faith or with his mission. Repeatedly, he used to say:

"We, the prophets, have nothing to pass on as inheritance to anyone. Any wealth we may leave behind must go for charity." Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) case was purely one of a common human emotion, though in him, it has reached its highest and noblest expression. In the Arab, this human emotion expressed itself in causing him to see in his male progeny a form of eternity. It explains fully Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) love for his son, however strong it may have been. Indeed, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had more reason for such strong attachment since he had lost his two sons, al Qasim and al Tāhir, at a tender age, and his daughters—even after they grew to maturity, married, and bore children—so that only Fātimah remained of all his progeny. Naturally, these sons and daughters who passed away one after the other and were buried by Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) own hand left their father with a severe sense of bereavement. It was natural that a father so bereaved would feel excessive joy and the strongest personal pride and hope at the birth and g[illegible] of son.

The promise and hope which Ibrahim represented were n[illegible] last long. Soon, the child fell seriously ill. He was moved to a date orchard near Mashrabat Umm Ibrahim, where his mother and Sirin, her sister, looked after him. When his state worsened and it became apparent that he will not live long, Muhammad

(P.B.U.H) was called. He was so shocked at the news that he felt his knees could no more carry him, and asked ‘Abd al Rahman ibn ‘Awf to give him his hand to lean upon. He proceeded immediately to the orchard and arrived in time to bid farewell to an infant dying in his mother's lap. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) took the child and laid him in his own lap with shaking hand. His heart was torn apart by the new tragedy, and his face mirrored his inner pain. Choking with sorrow, he said to his son, "O Ibrahim, against the judgment of Allah, we cannot avail you a thing," and then fell silent. Tears flowed from his eyes. The child lapsed gradually, and his mother and aunt watched and cried loudly and incessantly, but the Prophet (P.B.U.H) never ordered them to stop. As Ibrahim surrendered to death, Muhammad's hope (P.B.U.H) which had consoled him for a brief while completely crumbled. With tears in his eyes he talked once more to the dead child: "O Ibrahim, were the truth not certain that the last of us will join the first, we would have mourned you even more than we do now." A moment later he said: "The eyes send their tears and the heart is saddened, but we do not say anything except that which pleases our Lord. Indeed, O Ibrahim, we are bereaved by your departure from us."

Aware of Muhammad's sorrow (P.B.U.H), the wise among the Muslim sought to remind the Prophet (P.B.U.H) that he himself (P.B.U.H) had commanded against indulgence in self-pity after a bereavement. Muhammad (P.B.U.H), however, answered: "I have not commanded against sadness, but against raising one's voice in lamentation. What you see in me is the effect of the love and compassion in my heart for my lost one. Remember that whoever feels no compassion toward others will not receive any compassion." These may not have been his exact words, but the meaning remains the same. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) tried to sublimate his sadness and lighten his sorrow, and, looking toward Mariyah and Sirin, he said to them in appeasement that Ibrahim would have his own nurse in Paradise.

Umm Burdah, or according to another version, al Fadl ibn 'Abbas, washed the body of the child in preparation for burial. He was carried on a little bed by the Prophet (P.B.U.H), his uncle al 'Abbas, and a number of Muslims to the cemetery of Abū Bakr where, after a funeral prayer recited by the Prophet (P.B.U.H), he was laid down to rest. As Muhammad (P.B.U.H) ordered the grave closed, he filled it with sand, sprinkled some water, and placed a landmark on it. He then said:

"Tombstones do neither good nor ill, but they help appease the living. Anything that man does, Allah wishes him to do well."

The death of Ibrahim coincided with the eclipse of the sun, a phenomenon the Muslims saw as a miracle. They went about saying that the sun was eclipsed in sadness over the death of Ibrahim. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) heard them. Would his exceeding love for Ibrahim and deep sorrow over his loss not enable him to find in such rumors a measure of consolation? Would he not at least keep his silence and thus allow the people to believe what they had taken to be a miracle? Certainly not. Such an attitude surely belongs to those who exploit the ignorance and credulity of the people; for those whom suffering and sorrow push beyond reason and common sense. It does not belong to the man of genuine wisdom, nor ***a fortiori,*** to the great Prophet (P.B.U.H). Hence, looking to those who claimed the sun was in eclipse because of the death of Ibrahim, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) said, "The sun and the moon are signs of Allah. They are eclipsed neither for the death nor birth of any man. On beholding an eclipse, therefore, remember Allah and turn to Him in prayer." What greatness! Even in his moment of greatest personal disaster this Prophet (P.B.U.H) preserved his cool presence of mind. He remained fully conscious of his message and most serious in his commitment to it. And even the Orientalists could not hide their admiration and wonder when they came across this fact in the life of Muhammad (P.B.U.H).

Even they could not fail to acknowledge the genuineness of the man who insisted on truth even in face of the greatest personal adversity.

One wonders what the attitude of the wives of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) was toward the loss of Ibrahim and Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) strong sense of bereavement. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) himself found consolation in Allah, in the divine assistance he received in the fulfillment of His message, and in the successful spread of Islam that was shown by all the delegations that appeared in Madinah from every direction with the rise of each new day. So wide was the spread of the religion of Allah and so many peoples entered its ranks that this year, the 10th of the Hijrah, was called "the Year of Deputations." It is also the year in which Abū Bakr made the pilgrimage to Makkah.

28

The Year of Deputations and Abū Bakr's Leadership of the Pilgrimage

The Effects of the Campaign of Tabūk

With the campaign of Tabūk the word of Allah was fulfilled throughout the Arabian Peninsula. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had firmly secured it against all attacks. In fact, as soon as he returned to Madinah from Tabuk, the associationists of Arabia began to ponder their fate. The Muslims who accompanied Muhammad (P.B.U.H) on his march toward al Sham suffered many hardships, bore the heat and thirst of the desert, and returned somewhat disappointed, nay resentful, that they were not given a chance to fight and to enjoy the fruits of victory. The Byzantines had withdrawn to the interior where they stood better fortified. Nonetheless, their withdrawal before a marching Arab army left the tribes severely shaken, anxious over the fate of their pagan religion and of their society. The tribes of southern Arabia, of Yaman, Hadramawt, and 'Umān were specially affected in this manner. The Byzantines, they thought, were those who vanquished the Persians, recaptured the cross and reinstated it in Jerusalem with imperial pomp and grandeur. This

happened at a time when Persia held dominion over Yaman and the surrounding countryside, territories which Persia had ruled for many decades. Since the Muslims were now close to Yaman—indeed close to every quarter of the Peninsula—why should these territories not join the greater unity under the banner of Muhammad (P.B.U.H), the aegis of Islam? Such a step would at least save them from the imperialism of both Byzantium and Persia. So they thought regarding their relations with the outside world. On the internal front the princes of the territories and the tribal chieftains knew very well that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) would confirm any leader or sovereign in his leadership or sovereignty if he but converted to Islam. Why then, they thought, should they not join this greater unity, which would bring them clear advantage without prejudice to their particular structure of power? And so it was. The tenth year of the Hijrah was indeed the "Year of Deputations," in which men entered into the religion of Allah ***en masse.*** The Campaign of Tabūk and the withdrawal of the Byzantines before the Muslims brought forth results as great as the conquest of Makkah, the Muslim victory at Hunayn, or the blockade of al Tā'if.

Conversion of 'Urwah ibn Mas'ūd and His Murder

Fortunately, it was al Ta'if, the city which resisted the Prophet (P.B.U.H) despite the long blockade and which the Muslims had had to bypass without conquering, that came first to declare its allegiance to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) after Tabūk. 'Urwah ibn Mas'ud, one of the chieftains of the tribe of Thaqif, was absent in Yaman during the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) blockade of his city following the Battle of Hunayn. Upon his return to al Ta'if and his realization of the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) victory in Tabūk, he hastened to Madinah to declare his conversion as well as his commitment to call his fellow tribesmen unto the religion

of Allah. 'Urwah was not ignorant either of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) or of the power which the latter had so far achieved, for he was one of the notables of Arabia who entered the negotiations regarding the peace of Hudaybiyah on behalf of Quraysh. 'Urwah's conversion reassured the Prophet (P.B.U.H) that the voice of Islam would reach the tribesmen of Thaqif inside al Tā'if. Aware of Thaqif's attachment to their goddess al Lāt, and of their determination to die in defense of their idol, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) warned 'Urwah that his tribesmen would fight him. 'Urwah, however, felt too sure of his position and influence with his people. He answered: "O Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), my people love me more than they do their own eyes." 'Urwah proceeded to Thaqif and preached Islam to his people. They consulted among themselves and gave him no reply. In the morning, 'Urwah ascended to the top of his high house and from there gave the Islamic call to prayer. It was then that the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) prediction came to be realized. Deeming 'Urwah's behavior utterly dishonorable, his people attacked him with arrows on all sides and killed him. As his relatives panicked around him, 'Urwah told them just before he breathed his last that: "This is indeed an honor granted to me by Allah, the honor to die as a martyr in His cause. For my ease is identical to that of all the other martyrs who gave up their lives at the gates of this city while the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) was laying siege to it." He then asked to be buried together with those martyrs who were buried in that area.

Thaqif's Delegation to the Prophet (P.B.U.H)

'Urwah had not laid down his life in vain. The tribes which lived in the neighborhood of al Ta'if on all sides had already been converted to Islam. Thaqif's quick disposal of one of its chieftains was regarded by the surrounding tribes as a hideous

and contemptible crime. Naturally, this led to the decline of security in the area, for no Thaqif's tribesmen crossed the territories of these tribes without exposing himself to the gravest dangers. Soon Thaqif realized that unless it reached peace with the Muslims, its fate would be doomed. The tribesmen consulted with one another and approached an elder of theirs called 'Abd Ya Layl to go to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and negotiate with him. 'Abd Yā Layl feared to meet a fate not unlike that of his predecessor 'Urwah ibn Mas'ud. He therefore declined to go to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) unless Thaqif would delegate him five more chieftains belonging to different clans and capable of committing those clans to whatever decision the five would reach with Muhammad (P.B.U.H). Thaqif agreed and their delegation was formed. As they approached Madinah, al Mughirah ibn Shu'bah met them first at the outskirts of the city. When he discovered their purpose, he hastened to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) to inform him. Abū Bakr met him on the road and, finding out the cause of his hurry, pleaded with al Mughirah to give him the pleasure of announcing the great news to the Prophet (P.B.U.H). It was therefore Abū Bakr who made the announcement to the Prophet (P.B.U.H).

The delegation consisted of proud chieftains who had the greatest esteem for their city and people. They remembered too well—and of course resented—the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) blockade of their city.

Despite al Mughirah's instruction of them in Islamic protocol, they refused to greet the Prophet (P.B.U.H) except in the pre-Islāmic manner. Furthermore, they requested that a special tent be put up for their use within the mosque of Madinah, for they trusted no one to be their host. It was Khālid ibn Sa'id ibn al 'As who played the role of middleman between them and the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H); and it was he who had to taste of every food which the Prophet (P.B.U.H) furnished to them in order to convince them that it had not been poisoned.

Finally, on their behalf, Khalid informed Muhammad (P.B.U.H) of their preparation to convert to Islam on condition that the Prophet (P.B.U.H) exempt them from prayer and promise not to destroy their idol, al Lāt, for three years. Muhammad (P.B.UI.H) strongly rejected their proposal. They changed their proposal to two years, and then to one year, and indeed to one month after their return home. But Muhammad (P.B.U.H) rejected all their terms. This was naturally to be expected of a prophet (P.B.U.H) calling man to the religion of Allah, the One, the Mighty, of a prophet (P.B.U.H) committed to stamp out all idolatry. How could he spare any idol, no matter how cherished it might be by its own devotees? On this matter, there can be no middle ground. Either man believes or he is victim to doubt and suspicion. Doubt and conviction do not unite, just as faith and unbelief are ever disparate. The sparing of al Lāt would definitely imply that Thaqif would mingle its worship of Allah with that of the idol. That is plain associationism, condemned by Allah in clear and unequivocal terms. That is unfaith. Thaqif also pleaded for exemption from prayer. This, too, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) rejected, saying:

"There is no good in a religion in which prayer is ruled out." Finally, Thaqif accepted Islam on Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) terms. They agreed to both the destruction of al Lāt and the institution of regular prayers. They demanded, however, that they be exempted from having to destroy their own idol with their own hands. Since they were new converts and since they still had the task of convincing their fellows to accept the terms they were bringing back from Muhammad (P.B.U.H), their request was natural and could well be understood. It was too much to ask them to destroy with their own hands idols which they themselves had been worshipping. the day before, idols which their people honored as the object of their ancestors' worship, and to do so at a time when their people's confidence in them was absolutely necessary if their call to Islam was to

succeed. Hence, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was not adamant on this point. For him, it was all one whether al Lāt was destroyed by Thaqif tribesmen or by others. What was important to him was that the idol was soon to be destroyed and that Thaqif was henceforth to turn to the worship of Allah alone. Addressing himself to the delegation, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) said: "As for the destruction of your idols with your own hands, we exempt you from it." Muhammad (P.B.U.H) appointed 'Uthmān ibn Abū al 'As, the youngest among them, as leader despite his youth; for he sensed in him the strongest desire to learn the Qur'ān and the most brilliant mind for studying the law. Abū Bakr and other early Muslims attested to 'Uthmān's competence. The delegation remained in Madinah as guests of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) during the rest of Ramadān, fasting with the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and eating of the food which he presented to them at sunset and before dawn. When it was time for them to leave and return home, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) counseled their leader, 'Uthmān ibn Abu al 'As, saying, "Be brief when leading the prayers, and measure the people by the weakest among them. Remember that among them are the old men, the youth, the weak, and the deprived."

Destruction of the Idol al Lāt

The delegation returned home accompanied by Abu Sufyān ibn Harb and al Mughirah ibn Shu'bah, who knew the tribe of Thaqif and felt toward its people great friendship and compassion. They were assigned by the Prophet (P.B.U.H) the job of destroying al Lat. Abū Sufyan and al Mughirah approached the sanctuary, and the latter began the job of destruction while the women of Thaqif stood around moaning and crying. Not one tribesman, however, dared to stop al Mughirah in the fulfillment of his duty, for everyone had ratified beforehand the agreement

the delegation had concluded with the Prophet (P.B.U.H). Al Mughirah further seized the wealth of al Lāt and its jewelry and, at the direction of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and in agreement with Abū Sufyan, settled the debts of 'Urwah and al Aswad. With the destruction of al Lāt and the conversion of al Tā'if, the conversion of the Hijāz was complete. Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) power expanded from the frontiers of Byzantium in the north to al Yaman and Hadramawt in the south. The territories of South Arabia were all preparing to join the new religion and integrate themselves into a system of defense. That is why delegations from all corners proceeded to Madinah to declare allegiance to the new order and to convert to the new faith.

Abū Bakr Leads the Pilgrimage

As these delegations followed one another to Madinah, the months went by until it was time again for pilgrimage. Until that time, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) had not performed the pilgrimage in exactly the same way as it is performed today. It will be remembered that the previous pilgrimages had all been performed under extraordinary circumstances. Would the Prophet (P.B.U.H) go out to perform the pilgrimage this year in gratitude for the victory Allah had granted him over the Byzantines, or for the conversion of al Tā'if and the numerous peoples who sent all these delegations to Madinah? Many persons in the Arabian Peninsula did not believe either in Allah or His Prophet (P.B.U.H). Unbelievers, Jews, and Christians were still in their places. The unbelievers continued to observe their ancient custom of going on pilgrimage to the Ka'bah during the holy months. But the unbelievers were anathema. Would the Prophet (P.B.U.H) therefore not remain in Madinah until Allah's word was more completely fulfilled, until express permission from above were granted him for the purpose? Thus the Prophet

(P.B.U.H) reasoned, and he instructed Abū Bakr to lead the pilgrimage in his place.

Abū Bakr proceeded to Makkah together with three hundred Muslims. There was apprehension that the years would follow one another while the unbelievers continued to perform pilgrimage to the holy sanctuary and mingle with the Muslims in religious worship. After all, there was a general pact between Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and the Arabs that none should be prevented from reaching the Holy House if he so desired, that none should be attacked during the holy months. Likewise, the relations with various Arab tribes were governed by pacts whose terms had not yet expired. As long as these pacts had not expired, the associationists had the same right to perform the pilgrimage to the Holy House as the Muslims. For sometime yet, the Muslims would have to continue to see pre-Islamic worship performed side by side with theirs around the Ka'bah.

True, most of the idols worshipped by the Arabs had by then been destroyed, as were the idols and images of the Ka'bah. The pilgrimage institution was, however, still confused. In the sacred months the sanctuary of Makkah was the scene of idolators worshipping their gods as well as of Muslims in revolt against idolatry. A religious institution with a texture such as this is in contradiction with itself. It may he possible to understand the pilgrimage of Jews and Christians to Palestine because it is the land of promise for the former and the birthplace of .Jesus Christ for the latter. But it is incomprehensible that two systems of worship meet in the same sanctuary, the one destroying the idols of that sanctuary and the other worshipping the idols destroyed. hence, it was necessary to stop the associationists from entering a sanctuary just cleansed of associationism and ridden of its idols and images. Thus, the ***surah*** of innocent "Barā'ah" was revealed at the right time but too late for implementation in this pilgrimage. The Hajj season had begun and already thousands of

associationists had converged upon Makkah as they were accustomed to do for generations. Though this was obviously not the time to implement the Revelation, it was time to proclaim it and to let the associationists know that, henceforth, no covenant between Muslims and associationists would be valid unless it specified a given term. In this case, the covenant would be honored for the duration of its term.

For this purpose, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) sent ‘Ali ibn Abū Tālib to Makkah to join Abū Bakr and to address the congregation of pilgrims assembled at ‘Arafat. He was entrusted with the duty to proclaim the commandments of Allah and His Prophet (P.B.U.H). When the two met, Abu Bakr asked: “Do you come to us as commander or messenger?” ‘Ali answered, “Indeed as messenger,” and informed Abu Bakr of his mission. When the pilgrims congregated at Minā, ‘Ali rose and delivered the following address, quoting the Qur’ān:

﴿ بَرَآءَةٌ مِّنَ ٱللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِۦٓ إِلَى ٱلَّذِينَ عَٰهَدتُّم مِّنَ ٱلْمُشْرِكِينَ ﴿١﴾
فَسِيحُوا۟ فِى ٱلْأَرْضِ أَرْبَعَةَ أَشْهُرٍ وَٱعْلَمُوٓا۟ أَنَّكُمْ غَيْرُ مُعْجِزِى ٱللَّهِ ۙ وَأَنَّ
ٱللَّهَ مُخْزِى ٱلْكَٰفِرِينَ ﴿٢﴾ وَأَذَٰنٌ مِّنَ ٱللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِۦٓ إِلَى ٱلنَّاسِ يَوْمَ
ٱلْحَجِّ ٱلْأَكْبَرِ أَنَّ ٱللَّهَ بَرِىٓءٌ مِّنَ ٱلْمُشْرِكِينَ ۙ وَرَسُولُهُۥ ۚ فَإِن تُبْتُمْ فَهُوَ
خَيْرٌ لَّكُمْ ۖ وَإِن تَوَلَّيْتُمْ فَٱعْلَمُوٓا۟ أَنَّكُمْ غَيْرُ مُعْجِزِى ٱللَّهِ ۗ وَبَشِّرِ ٱلَّذِينَ
كَفَرُوا۟ بِعَذَابٍ أَلِيمٍ ﴿٣﴾ إِلَّا ٱلَّذِينَ عَٰهَدتُّم مِّنَ ٱلْمُشْرِكِينَ ثُمَّ لَمْ
يَنقُصُوكُمْ شَيْـًٔا وَلَمْ يُظَٰهِرُوا۟ عَلَيْكُمْ أَحَدًا فَأَتِمُّوٓا۟ إِلَيْهِمْ عَهْدَهُمْ إِلَىٰ
مُدَّتِهِمْ ۚ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ يُحِبُّ ٱلْمُتَّقِينَ ﴿٤﴾ فَإِذَا ٱنسَلَخَ ٱلْأَشْهُرُ ٱلْحُرُمُ فَٱقْتُلُوا۟

ٱلْمُشْرِكِينَ حَيْثُ وَجَدتُّمُوهُمْ وَخُذُوهُمْ وَٱحْصُرُوهُمْ وَٱقْعُدُوا۟ لَهُمْ
كُلَّ مَرْصَدٍ ۚ فَإِن تَابُوا۟ وَأَقَامُوا۟ ٱلصَّلَوٰةَ وَءَاتَوُا۟ ٱلزَّكَوٰةَ فَخَلُّوا۟
سَبِيلَهُمْ ۚ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ غَفُورٌ رَّحِيمٌ ﴿٥﴾ وَإِنْ أَحَدٌ مِّنَ ٱلْمُشْرِكِينَ
ٱسْتَجَارَكَ فَأَجِرْهُ حَتَّىٰ يَسْمَعَ كَلَـٰمَ ٱللَّهِ ثُمَّ أَبْلِغْهُ مَأْمَنَهُۥ ۚ ذَٰلِكَ بِأَنَّهُمْ
قَوْمٌ لَّا يَعْلَمُونَ ﴿٦﴾ كَيْفَ يَكُونُ لِلْمُشْرِكِينَ عَهْدٌ عِندَ ٱللَّهِ
وَعِندَ رَسُولِهِۦٓ إِلَّا ٱلَّذِينَ عَـٰهَدتُّمْ عِندَ ٱلْمَسْجِدِ ٱلْحَرَامِ ۖ فَمَا
ٱسْتَقَـٰمُوا۟ لَكُمْ فَٱسْتَقِيمُوا۟ لَهُمْ ۚ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ يُحِبُّ ٱلْمُتَّقِينَ ﴿٧﴾ كَيْفَ
وَإِن يَظْهَرُوا۟ عَلَيْكُمْ لَا يَرْقُبُوا۟ فِيكُمْ إِلًّا وَلَا ذِمَّةً ۚ يُرْضُونَكُم
بِأَفْوَٰهِهِمْ وَتَأْبَىٰ قُلُوبُهُمْ وَأَكْثَرُهُمْ فَـٰسِقُونَ ﴿٨﴾ ٱشْتَرَوْا۟ بِـَٔايَـٰتِ
ٱللَّهِ ثَمَنًا قَلِيلًا فَصَدُّوا۟ عَن سَبِيلِهِۦٓ ۚ إِنَّهُمْ سَآءَ مَا كَانُوا۟ يَعْمَلُونَ ﴿٩﴾
لَا يَرْقُبُونَ فِى مُؤْمِنٍ إِلًّا وَلَا ذِمَّةً ۚ وَأُو۟لَـٰٓئِكَ هُمُ ٱلْمُعْتَدُونَ ﴿١٠﴾
فَإِن تَابُوا۟ وَأَقَامُوا۟ ٱلصَّلَوٰةَ وَءَاتَوُا۟ ٱلزَّكَوٰةَ فَإِخْوَٰنُكُمْ فِى ٱلدِّينِ ۗ
وَنُفَصِّلُ ٱلْـَٔايَـٰتِ لِقَوْمٍ يَعْلَمُونَ ﴿١١﴾ وَإِن نَّكَثُوٓا۟ أَيْمَـٰنَهُم مِّنۢ بَعْدِ
عَهْدِهِمْ وَطَعَنُوا۟ فِى دِينِكُمْ فَقَـٰتِلُوٓا۟ أَئِمَّةَ ٱلْكُفْرِ ۙ إِنَّهُمْ لَآ أَيْمَـٰنَ
لَهُمْ لَعَلَّهُمْ يَنتَهُونَ ﴿١٢﴾ أَلَا تُقَـٰتِلُونَ قَوْمًا نَّكَثُوٓا۟ أَيْمَـٰنَهُمْ

وَهَمُّوا۟ بِإِخْرَاجِ ٱلرَّسُولِ وَهُم بَدَءُوكُمْ أَوَّلَ مَرَّةٍ ۚ أَتَخْشَوْنَهُمْ ۚ فَٱللَّهُ
أَحَقُّ أَن تَخْشَوْهُ إِن كُنتُم مُّؤْمِنِينَ ﴿١٣﴾ قَـٰتِلُوهُمْ يُعَذِّبْهُمُ ٱللَّهُ
بِأَيْدِيكُمْ وَيُخْزِهِمْ وَيَنصُرْكُمْ عَلَيْهِمْ وَيَشْفِ صُدُورَ قَوْمٍ مُّؤْمِنِينَ
﴿١٤﴾ وَيُذْهِبْ غَيْظَ قُلُوبِهِمْ ۗ وَيَتُوبُ ٱللَّهُ عَلَىٰ مَن يَشَآءُ ۗ وَٱللَّهُ عَلِيمٌ
حَكِيمٌ ﴿١٥﴾ أَمْ حَسِبْتُمْ أَن تُتْرَكُوا۟ وَلَمَّا يَعْلَمِ ٱللَّهُ ٱلَّذِينَ جَـٰهَدُوا۟
مِنكُمْ وَلَمْ يَتَّخِذُوا۟ مِن دُونِ ٱللَّهِ وَلَا رَسُولِهِۦ وَلَا ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَلِيجَةً ۚ
وَٱللَّهُ خَبِيرٌۢ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ ﴿١٦﴾ مَا كَانَ لِلْمُشْرِكِينَ أَن يَعْمُرُوا۟ مَسَـٰجِدَ
ٱللَّهِ شَـٰهِدِينَ عَلَىٰٓ أَنفُسِهِم بِٱلْكُفْرِ ۚ أُو۟لَـٰٓئِكَ حَبِطَتْ أَعْمَـٰلُهُمْ وَفِى
ٱلنَّارِ هُمْ خَـٰلِدُونَ ﴿١٧﴾ إِنَّمَا يَعْمُرُ مَسَـٰجِدَ ٱللَّهِ مَنْ ءَامَنَ بِٱللَّهِ
وَٱلْيَوْمِ ٱلْـَٔاخِرِ وَأَقَامَ ٱلصَّلَوٰةَ وَءَاتَى ٱلزَّكَوٰةَ وَلَمْ يَخْشَ إِلَّا ٱللَّهَ ۖ
فَعَسَىٰٓ أُو۟لَـٰٓئِكَ أَن يَكُونُوا۟ مِنَ ٱلْمُهْتَدِينَ ﴿١٨﴾ ۞ أَجَعَلْتُمْ سِقَايَةَ
ٱلْحَآجِّ وَعِمَارَةَ ٱلْمَسْجِدِ ٱلْحَرَامِ كَمَنْ ءَامَنَ بِٱللَّهِ وَٱلْيَوْمِ ٱلْـَٔاخِرِ
وَجَـٰهَدَ فِى سَبِيلِ ٱللَّهِ ۚ لَا يَسْتَوُۥنَ عِندَ ٱللَّهِ ۗ وَٱللَّهُ لَا يَهْدِى ٱلْقَوْمَ
ٱلظَّـٰلِمِينَ ﴿١٩﴾ ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا۟ وَهَاجَرُوا۟ وَجَـٰهَدُوا۟ فِى سَبِيلِ ٱللَّهِ بِأَمْوَٰلِهِمْ
وَأَنفُسِهِمْ أَعْظَمُ دَرَجَةً عِندَ ٱللَّهِ ۚ وَأُو۟لَـٰٓئِكَ هُمُ ٱلْفَآئِزُونَ ﴿٢٠﴾ يُبَشِّرُهُمْ

رَبُّهُم بِرَحۡمَةٖ مِّنۡهُ وَرِضۡوَٰنٖ وَجَنَّٰتٖ لَّهُمۡ فِيهَا نَعِيمٞ مُّقِيمٌ ﴿٢١﴾
خَٰلِدِينَ فِيهَآ أَبَدًاۚ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ عِندَهُۥٓ أَجۡرٌ عَظِيمٞ ﴿٢٢﴾ يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ
ءَامَنُواْ لَا تَتَّخِذُوٓاْ ءَابَآءَكُمۡ وَإِخۡوَٰنَكُمۡ أَوۡلِيَآءَ إِنِ ٱسۡتَحَبُّواْ ٱلۡكُفۡرَ
عَلَى ٱلۡإِيمَٰنِۚ وَمَن يَتَوَلَّهُم مِّنكُمۡ فَأُوْلَٰٓئِكَ هُمُ ٱلظَّٰلِمُونَ ﴿٢٣﴾ قُلۡ
إِن كَانَ ءَابَآؤُكُمۡ وَأَبۡنَآؤُكُمۡ وَإِخۡوَٰنُكُمۡ وَأَزۡوَٰجُكُمۡ وَعَشِيرَتُكُمۡ وَأَمۡوَٰلٌ
ٱقۡتَرَفۡتُمُوهَا وَتِجَٰرَةٞ تَخۡشَوۡنَ كَسَادَهَا وَمَسَٰكِنُ تَرۡضَوۡنَهَآ أَحَبَّ
إِلَيۡكُم مِّنَ ٱللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِۦ وَجِهَادٖ فِي سَبِيلِهِۦ فَتَرَبَّصُواْ حَتَّىٰ يَأۡتِيَ
ٱللَّهُ بِأَمۡرِهِۦۗ وَٱللَّهُ لَا يَهۡدِي ٱلۡقَوۡمَ ٱلۡفَٰسِقِينَ ﴿٢٤﴾ لَقَدۡ نَصَرَكُمُ
ٱللَّهُ فِي مَوَاطِنَ كَثِيرَةٖ ۙ وَيَوۡمَ حُنَيۡنٍ ۙ إِذۡ أَعۡجَبَتۡكُمۡ كَثۡرَتُكُمۡ فَلَمۡ
تُغۡنِ عَنكُمۡ شَيۡـٔٗا وَضَاقَتۡ عَلَيۡكُمُ ٱلۡأَرۡضُ بِمَا رَحُبَتۡ ثُمَّ
وَلَّيۡتُم مُّدۡبِرِينَ ﴿٢٥﴾ ثُمَّ أَنزَلَ ٱللَّهُ سَكِينَتَهُۥ عَلَىٰ رَسُولِهِۦ وَعَلَى
ٱلۡمُؤۡمِنِينَ وَأَنزَلَ جُنُودٗا لَّمۡ تَرَوۡهَا وَعَذَّبَ ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُواْۚ
وَذَٰلِكَ جَزَآءُ ٱلۡكَٰفِرِينَ ﴿٢٦﴾ ثُمَّ يَتُوبُ ٱللَّهُ مِنۢ بَعۡدِ ذَٰلِكَ عَلَىٰ مَن
يَشَآءُۗ وَٱللَّهُ غَفُورٞ رَّحِيمٞ ﴿٢٧﴾ يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوٓاْ إِنَّمَا
ٱلۡمُشۡرِكُونَ نَجَسٞ فَلَا يَقۡرَبُواْ ٱلۡمَسۡجِدَ ٱلۡحَرَامَ بَعۡدَ عَامِهِمۡ هَٰذَاۚ

وَإِنۡ خِفۡتُمۡ عَيۡلَةٗ فَسَوۡفَ يُغۡنِيكُمُ ٱللَّهُ مِن فَضۡلِهِۦٓ إِن شَآءَۚ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ
عَلِيمٌ حَكِيمٞ ﴿٢٨﴾ قَٰتِلُواْ ٱلَّذِينَ لَا يُؤۡمِنُونَ بِٱللَّهِ وَلَا بِٱلۡيَوۡمِ
ٱلۡأٓخِرِ وَلَا يُحَرِّمُونَ مَا حَرَّمَ ٱللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُۥ وَلَا يَدِينُونَ دِينَ ٱلۡحَقِّ
مِنَ ٱلَّذِينَ أُوتُواْ ٱلۡكِتَٰبَ حَتَّىٰ يُعۡطُواْ ٱلۡجِزۡيَةَ عَن يَدٖ وَهُمۡ
صَٰغِرُونَ ﴿٢٩﴾ وَقَالَتِ ٱلۡيَهُودُ عُزَيۡرٌ ٱبۡنُ ٱللَّهِ وَقَالَتِ ٱلنَّصَٰرَى
ٱلۡمَسِيحُ ٱبۡنُ ٱللَّهِۖ ذَٰلِكَ قَوۡلُهُم بِأَفۡوَٰهِهِمۡۖ يُضَٰهِـُٔونَ قَوۡلَ
ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُواْ مِن قَبۡلُۚ قَٰتَلَهُمُ ٱللَّهُۚ أَنَّىٰ يُؤۡفَكُونَ ﴿٣٠﴾ ٱتَّخَذُوٓاْ
أَحۡبَارَهُمۡ وَرُهۡبَٰنَهُمۡ أَرۡبَابٗا مِّن دُونِ ٱللَّهِ وَٱلۡمَسِيحَ ٱبۡنَ مَرۡيَمَ وَمَآ
أُمِرُوٓاْ إِلَّا لِيَعۡبُدُوٓاْ إِلَٰهٗا وَٰحِدٗاۖ لَّآ إِلَٰهَ إِلَّا هُوَۚ سُبۡحَٰنَهُۥ عَمَّا
يُشۡرِكُونَ ﴿٣١﴾ يُرِيدُونَ أَن يُطۡفِـُٔواْ نُورَ ٱللَّهِ بِأَفۡوَٰهِهِمۡ وَيَأۡبَى
ٱللَّهُ إِلَّآ أَن يُتِمَّ نُورَهُۥ وَلَوۡ كَرِهَ ٱلۡكَٰفِرُونَ ﴿٣٢﴾ هُوَ ٱلَّذِيٓ أَرۡسَلَ
رَسُولَهُۥ بِٱلۡهُدَىٰ وَدِينِ ٱلۡحَقِّ لِيُظۡهِرَهُۥ عَلَى ٱلدِّينِ كُلِّهِۦ وَلَوۡ كَرِهَ
ٱلۡمُشۡرِكُونَ ﴿٣٣﴾ ۞ يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوٓاْ إِنَّ كَثِيرٗا مِّنَ ٱلۡأَحۡبَارِ
وَٱلرُّهۡبَانِ لَيَأۡكُلُونَ أَمۡوَٰلَ ٱلنَّاسِ بِٱلۡبَٰطِلِ وَيَصُدُّونَ عَن سَبِيلِ ٱللَّهِۗ
وَٱلَّذِينَ يَكۡنِزُونَ ٱلذَّهَبَ وَٱلۡفِضَّةَ وَلَا يُنفِقُونَهَا فِي سَبِيلِ ٱللَّهِ

فَبَشِّرْهُم بِعَذَابٍ أَلِيمٍ ﴿٣٤﴾ يَوْمَ يُحْمَىٰ عَلَيْهَا فِي نَارِ جَهَنَّمَ فَتُكْوَىٰ
بِهَا جِبَاهُهُمْ وَجُنُوبُهُمْ وَظُهُورُهُمْ ۖ هَٰذَا مَا كَنَزْتُمْ لِأَنفُسِكُمْ فَذُوقُوا
مَا كُنتُمْ تَكْنِزُونَ ﴿٣٥﴾ إِنَّ عِدَّةَ الشُّهُورِ عِندَ اللَّهِ اثْنَا عَشَرَ شَهْرًا فِي
كِتَابِ اللَّهِ يَوْمَ خَلَقَ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ مِنْهَا أَرْبَعَةٌ حُرُمٌ ۚ ذَٰلِكَ
الدِّينُ الْقَيِّمُ ۚ فَلَا تَظْلِمُوا فِيهِنَّ أَنفُسَكُمْ ۚ وَقَاتِلُوا الْمُشْرِكِينَ
كَافَّةً كَمَا يُقَاتِلُونَكُمْ كَافَّةً ۚ وَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّ اللَّهَ مَعَ الْمُتَّقِينَ ﴿٣٦﴾ ﴾

سورة التوبة الآيات ١ - ٣٦

(A (declaration) of immunity from Allah and His Messenger, to those of the Pagans with whom you have contracted mutual alliances. Go, then, for four months, (as you will), throughout the land, but know you that you cannot frustrate Allah (by your falsehood) but that Allah will cover with shame those who reject Him. And an announcement from Allah and His Messenger, to the people (assembled) on the day of the Great Pilgrimage - that Allah and His Messenger dissolve (treaty) obligations with the Pagans. If then, you repent, it were best for you: but if you turn away, know that you cannot frustrate Allah. And proclaim a grievous chastisement to those who reject Faith. (But the treaties are) not dissolved with those Pagans with whom you have entered into alliance and who have not subsequently failed you in aught, nor aided anyone against you. So fulfil your engagements with them to the end of their term: for Allah loves the righteous. But when the forbidden months are past, then fight and slay the Pagans wherever you find them, and seize them,

beleaguer them, and lie in wait for them in every stratagem (of war); but if they repent, and establish regular prayers and practise regular Zakah, then open the way for them: for Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful. If one amongst the Pagans ask you for asylum, grant it to him, so that he may hear the word of Allah; and then escort him to where he can be secure. That is because they are men without knowledge. How can there be a covenant, before Allah and His Messenger, with the Pagans, except those with whom you made a treaty near the Sacred Mosque? As long as these stand true to you, stand true to them: for Allah does love the righteous. How (can there be such a covenant), seeing that if they get an advantage over you, they respect not in you the ties either of kinship or of covenant? With (fair words from) their mouths they entice you, but their hearts are averse from you; and most of them are rebellious and wicked. The Words of Allah have they sold for a miserable price, and (many) have they hindered from His way: evil indeed are the deeds they have done. In a Believer they respect not the ties either of kinship or of covenant! It is they who have transgressed all bounds. But (even so), if they repent, establish regular prayers, and Pay Zakah, they are your brethren in Faith: (thus) do We explain the Signs in detail, for those who understand. But if they violate their oaths after their covenant, and attack your Faith, fight the chiefs of Unfaith: for their oaths are nothing to them: that thus they may be restrained.

Will you not fight people who violated their oaths, plotted to expel the Messenger, and attacked you first? Do you fear them? Nay, it is Allah Whom you should more justly fear, if you believe! Fight them, and Allah will punish them by your hands, and disgrace them and help you (to victory) over them, heal the breasts of Believers. And still

the indignation of their hearts. For Allah will turn (in mercy) to whom He will; and Allah is All-Knowing, All Wise. Do you think that you would be left, alone while Allah has not yet known those among you who strive with might and main, and take none for friends and protectors except Allah, His Messenger, and the (community of) Believers? and Allah is well-acquainted with (all) that you do. It is not for such as join gods with Allah, to maintain the mosques of Allah while they witness against their own souls to infidelity. The works of such bear no fruit: in Fire shall they dwell.The mosques of Allah shall be visited and maintained by such as believe in Allah and the Last Day, establish regular prayers, and pay Zakah, and fear none (at all) except Allah. It is they who are expected to be on true guidance. Do you consider the giving of drink to pilgrims, or the maintenance of the Sacred Mosque, equal to (the pious service of) those who believe in Allah and the Last Day, and strive with might and main in the cause of Allah? They are not equal in the sight of Allah: and Allah guides not those who do wrong.

Those who believe, and emigrate and strive with might and main, in Allah's cause, with their goods and their persons, have the highest rank in the sight of Allah: they are the people who will achieve (salvation). Their Lord does give them glad tidings of Mercy from Himself, of His good pleasure, and of Gardens for them, wherein are delights that endure:

They will dwell therein forever. Verily with Allah is a reward, the greatest (of all). O you who believe! Take not for protectors your fathers and your brothers if they love infidelity above Faith: if any of you do so, they do wrong. Say: If it be that your fathers, your sons, your brothers, your mates, or your kindred; the wealth that you have gained; the commerce in which you fear a decline; or the

dwellings in which you delight - are dearer to you than Allah, Or His Messenger, or the striving in His cause - then wait until Allah brings about His Decision: and Allah guides not the rebellious. Assuredly Allah did help you in many battle-fields and on the day of Hunain: behold! your great numbers elated you, but they availed you naught: the land, for all that it is wide, did constrain you, and ye turned back in retreat. But Allah did pour His calm on the Messenger and on the Believers, and sent down forces which you saw not: He punished the Unbelievers: thus does He reward those without Faith. Again will Allah, after this, turn (in mercy) to whom He will: for Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful. O you who believe! Truly the Pagans are unclean: so let them not, after this year of theirs, approach the Sacred Mosque. And if you fear poverty, soon will Allah enrich you, if He wills, out of His bounty, for Allah is All-Knowing, All-Wise. Fight those who believe not in Allah nor the Last Day, nor hold that forbidden which hath been forbidden by Allah and His Messenger, nor acknowledge the Religion of Truth, from among the People of the Book, until they pay the Jizya with willing submission, and feel themselves subdued. The Jews call 'Uzair a son of Allah, and the Christians call Christ the son of Allah. That is a saying from their mouth: (in this) they but imitate what the Unbelievers of old used to say. Allah's curse be on them: how they are deluded away from the Truth! They take their priests and their anchorites to be their lords beside Allah, and (they take as their Lord) Christ, the son of Mary: yet they were commanded to worship but One God: there is no god but He. Praise and glory to Him: (far is He) from having the partners they associate (with Him). Fain would they extinguish Allah's Light with their mouths, but Allah will not allow but that His Light should be perfected, even though the Unbelievers may detest (it). It is He Who hath

sent His Messenger with Guidance and the Religion of Truth, to cause it to prevail over all religion, even though the Pagans may detest (it). O you who believe! There are indeed many among the priests and anchorites, who in falsehood devour the substance of men and hinder (them) from the Way of Allah. And there are those who hoard gold and silver and spend it not in the Way of Allah: announce unto them a most grievous chastisement. On the Day when heat will be heated in the fire of Hell, and with it will be branded their foreheads, their flanks, and their backs, "This is the (treasure) which you hoarded for yourselves: taste, then, the (treasures) you hoarded!" The number of months in the sight of Allah is twelve (in a year), so ordained by Him the day He created the heavens and the earth: of them four are sacred: that is the straight usage. So wrong not yourselves therein, and fight the Pagans all together as they fight you all together. But know that Allah is with those who restrain themselves.) (At-Tawbah:1-36)

'Ali delivered all these verses from ***Surah,*** "Al Tawbah," which we have quoted in full for a reason which will soon become apparent. After he finished his recitation of the Qur'ān, he continued in his own words: "O Men, no unbeliever will enter Paradise; no associationist will perform pilgrimage after this year; and no naked man will be allowed to circumambulate the Holy House. Whoever has entered into a covenant with the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) will have his covenant fulfilled as long as its term lasts." 'Ali proclaimed these four instructions to the people and then gave everybody four months of general peace and amnesty during which anyone could return safely home. From that time on no associationist performed the pilgrimage and no naked man circumambulated the Holy House. From that day on, the Islamic state was established.

The Moral Foundations of the Islāmic State

It was precisely for the purpose of clarifying the foundation of the Islamic state that we have quoted the verses of ***Sūrah*** "Al Tawbah" at length. This was equally the purpose of 'Ali's recitation, namely, to enable all the Arabs to understand this foundation. That is why the Prophet (P.B.U.H) had asked him, according to a number of sources, to recommend that these verses be recited to the people each in his own house and quarter. If one were to give close and conscientious examination to the opening pages of this ***Surah,*** he would be convinced that it contains all that constitutes the moral base of any nascent state. The Revelation of this ***Surah*** of the Qur'ān at a time following the last of the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) campaigns, after conversion of the people of al Tā'if, of Hijāz, Tihamah and Najd, after all these territories and many of the tribes of the south had made common cause with Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and Islam, was meant to clarify the moral foundation on which the new state was to be erected. It was then necessary, as it is now, for the state to have a general moral ideology in which its people believe and for the sake of which they would be prepared to fight with all their power and energy. The ***Surah*** in question seems to be saying to the Muslims in particular and to mankind in general that there is no ideology greater than faith in Allah alone, in Allah devoid of associates.

No idea, no faith and no conviction of any kind can exercise greater power over the soul of man than that soul's entry into communion with reality as a whole, with reality at the point of its greatest and most sublime manifestation—in short, with Allah. Here, man is without master except Allah his conscience is without judge except Allah. The ***Surah*** seems to be laying down the principle that those who flout this general conviction which ought to be the foundation of the state are the rebels, the immoral, and

the nucleus of subversion and hateful destruction. Such ones should be entitled to no covenant and the state ought to fight them. If their rebellion against the general faith of the state is overt, then they should be fought and brought to subjection. If it is not overt, as was the case with the people of Tabūk, then they should pay the Tribute ***(jizyah)*** in acknowledgment of their subjection.

A close but unbiased consideration of the problem from the historical and social points of view will enable us to appreciate the moral which the foregoing verses of the ***Sūrah*** were supposed to teach. Those who hastily have jumped to conclusions condemning Islam and its Prophet (P.B.U.H) do not consider this aspect of the matter and regard these very strong verses of the ***Sūrah*** as a call to fanaticism and intolerance inconsistent with genuine civilization. They take the verses calling for fighting the associationists and killing them wherever they may be found without compassion or mercy as a call to raise the political state on a foundation of power and tyranny. Such false claims one often reads in the books of western Orientalists. They are the claims of those who have no talent for social and historical criticism even though, sometimes, they themselves be Muslims. They are claims which fly in the face of historical truth and run counter to every fact of social life. The prejudice with which such claims are advocated compel their authors to interpret the pertinent verses of this and other ***Surahs*** of the Qur'ān in violence to the whole biography of the Prophet (P.B.U.H). Their interpretation contradicts the logic of the life of the great Prophet (P.B.U.H) and the sequence of events from the day Allah commissioned him to prophethood to his death.

Freedom of opinion in Western Civilization

In order to establish the foregoing point, it behooves us to inquire what is the moral foundation of the dominant civilization

of modern times and then to compare it with the foundation on which Muhammad (P.B.U.H) sought to base the civilization of Islam. The moral foundation of contemporary civilization is the limitless freedom of opinion, a freedom which cannot be limited except by due process of law. On this account, freedom of opinion is a first principle which men are prepared to defend, whatever the sacrifice, and to realize in their societies, whatever the cost,. including war. The advocates of this freedom regard this principle as one of their greatest glories. They boast of it and call themselves greater than all previous generations and periods on its account. It is because of their commitment to this principle that the above mentioned Orientalists call Islam's condemnation of those who believe neither in Allah nor in the Day of Judgment a will to fanaticism incompatible with freedom. But the fallacious nature of this point of view becomes flagrantly obvious when one realizes that the value of an opinion lies in the ability to express, to propagate, and to implement it. Islam did not call for fighting the Arab associationists who acknowledged the dominion of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and did not propagate their unbelief or display their pagan rituals. Likewise, the dominant civilization of today wages a war to the knife against any ideology which runs counter to its own, and does so more resolutely and fiercely than the Muslims fought the Arab associationists. Indeed, it imposes upon its own "People of the Book" ***(i.e.,*** those who reside in its midst but disagree with its basic premises) that which is a thousand times worse than the ***jizyah*** of Islam.

The West's War against Communism

To illustrate this point, we may refer to the fight against slavery. In its war against those of its members who adhered to the institution of slavery, modern western civilization gave no

heed to the fact that those adherents believed in their institution, that they did not regard slavery as taboo. By this we do not mean that Islam approves of slavery, though it must be remembered that Islam did not require us to fight anything but that which Allah had clearly and unequivocally condemned. The two cases are not dissimilar. Therefore, rather than invoking this case, let us look at Europe, the contemporary carrier of dominant western civilization together with America and all those countries of South and East Asia which run in her orbit. Europe has fought Bolshevism and continues to do so with the strongest de termination. We, too, in Egypt are also prepared to cooperate with the western countries in fighting Bolshevism. But Bolshevism is only an economic view, an ideological opinion which runs counter to that of the dominant western countries. Can one therefore say that the call of Islam to fight the unbeliever who violates his own covenant after it has been given is a call to fanaticism, an "empty liberalism," and at the same time say that the call to fight Bolshevism, the destroyer of the West's economic system, is one which upholds the principle of freedom of faith and opinion and which respects and honors that freedom?

The West's War against Nudism

Furthermore, in more than one European country it has been thought that moral discipline cannot be separated from bodily discipline, that hiding some parts or organs of the human body under clothing is more sexually arousing, and hence, more corrupting than the exposure of the whole human body in total nakedness. The advocates of this view began to implement it and founded resorts in a number of cities where those who want to discipline themselves to total nakedness can pursue their desire without hindrance. However, as soon as this view began to

spread, the rulers of most of the countries concerned decided that the practice constituted a grave threat to the morality of the majority. They thus declared these "health centers" out of bounds and fought the advocates of nudism. They propagated laws forbidding the organization or construction of any nudist centers. And were nudism to envelop a whole nation, there is no doubt but that nation would become the object of a new war waged against it by all other nations on the grounds that it constituted a denial of the morality of man. Many a nation was threatened with war by other nations on account of its toleration of slavery, prostitution, or commerce in narcotics. How could such wars be justified? Surely, they could be justified solely on the grounds that freedom, despite its absoluteness, is a value only as long as it is limited to those bounds protecting the community from harm. Wherever the exercise of freedom exceeds those limits, it is deemed a threat to the social, economic, and moral health of the community, an evil worthy of being combated on all fronts. In such an instance, all public exercise of freedom is stopped, and the opinion itself whose freedom is in question is fought. The degree of brutality to which such a war may have to resort is determined by the nature of the threat which the ideological princip]e in question poses for the particular community.

Legislation May Restrict Freedom

Such is the social truth acknowledged by the dominant civilization of today. Were we to cite every expression and effect of this truth among the various nations, these pages would hardly suffice. Generally speaking, it may be safely asserted that every piece of legislation designed to combat a social, economic, or political movement is a denial of the freedom of opinion and an act of war against that movement. Such denial of freedom to that

to which freedom gives birth can be tolerated only on the grounds that the free implementation of .those principles entails harm to society. If, therefore, we are to appreciate Islam's war against associationism and its adherents, and its resolution to pursue the fighting till surrender, it is necessary to consider the social implications of associationism. Without such consideration, it is not fair to pass judgment on the legitimacy of the war. Now, if it can be established that associationism brought great harm to human society in all stages and periods, then Islam's call to war against it is not only legitimate but obligatory.

Social Aspect of Associationism

The associationism which was prevalent when Muhammad (P.B.U.H) began to call men to the religion of Allah was not only a matter of idol worship. Even if it were so, fighting it would still be obligatory. For it is an insult to the human mind, to the dignity of man, that any member of society should worship a stone. But that is not all. Associationism represented a system of traditional customs, beliefs, and practices; indeed, a total social structure which was far worse than slavery, Bolshevism, or any other social evil in the Twentieth Century. Associationism implied the burial of daughters alive and limitless polygamy whereby a man could marry thirty, forty, one or three hundred women. It implied the most cruel forms of usury and the most degrading license and immorality. The society of Arab pagans of Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) time was truly one of the worst that has existed on earth. We ask every man of reason the following question: If a certain nation today were to adopt for itself the same system of beliefs and customs as the pagan Arabs, including the burial of daughters alive, limitless polygamy, slavery with or without cause, economic exploitation and usury, would an internal movement that seeks to destroy that order and

alter its system be accused of fanaticism and violation of freedom? Suppose a social group neighboring the degraded community, realizing its own exposure to the contagion of such social evils as dominated their neighbors, were to challenge them to a war. Would such a war be justified or not? Would it not be even better justified than World War I in which millions of men were slaughtered for no other reason except the gluttony and recklessness of the colonialist states? If this argument is valid, what is the value of the Orientalists' criticism of the Qur'ānic verses from ***Sūrah*** "Al Tawbah" which we have just brought to the attention of the reader? What would be the point of their critique of Islam's call to combat associationism and its adherents who seek to establish the evil order which we have just described?

Legitimacy of the War against Associationism

If such was the historical truth of that pattern of life which was prevalent in the Arabian Peninsula under the banner of associationism and paganism, it is not without implications for the historical truth of the life of the Prophet (P.B.U.H). It must be recalled that, ever since his commission to prophethood thirteen years before, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had been calling men to the religion of Allah with argument and the kindest of words. All the campaigns which he undertook against his enemies were purely defensive. In none of them had he been guilty of aggression. On the contrary, he undertook those campaigns in defense of his Muslim converts, of their freedom to preach the religion in which they believed and which they cherished more than their lives. The stringent call to fight the associationists because they were anathema and had violated the covenant and amnesty freely concluded between them and the believers was in fact revealed to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) after the

last of his campaigns, ***viz,*** the campaign of Tabūk. Islam arose in a land saturated with associationism and unbelief, a land in which associationism had established its destructive economy and immoral social system. If, therefore, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) commanded the Muslims to ask Arabia to exchange its order for one allowing that which Allah legitimitized and forbidding that which He proscribed, no fair observer could but agree to rise against the associationists and to pursue the fight against them to victory. Such victory is the victory of truth and goodness, of the religion which is all Allah's.

'Amir ibn al Tufayl

'All's recitation of the Qur'ānic ***Sūrah*** "Al Tawbah," and his calling Muslim attention to the divine order that henceforth no unbeliever would enter Paradise or would perform pilgrimage, and no naked man would circumambulate the Holy House, brought forth the best of fruits. Above all, it removed all hesitancy in the minds of those tribes which had not yet resolved to enter into Islam. Moreover, the territories of Yaman, Mahrah, Bahrayn, and Yamamah immediately joined the ranks of Islam. No one was left to oppose Muhammad (P.B.U.H) nor to contend with him except a few deluded individuals. One of them was 'Amir ibn al Tufayl, who refused to convert. His people had enlisted him to serve as a member of their delegation to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) proclaiming their conversion. When the delegation obtained audience with the Prophet (P.B.U.H), 'Amir refused to go forward. He even proclaimed himself the Prophet's equal. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) invited him to a talk and tried to convince him of the truth of Islam—to no avail. Amir walked out threatening with war: "By Allah", he swore, "I shall fill your spaces with men and cavalry." Muhammad (P.B.U.H) prayed Allah to restrict 'Amir. On his way home, the persistent unbeliever was struck with cancer in his neck and died in an inn

belonging to a woman from the tribe of Banū Salul. It is reported that he expired while lamenting, "O Banū 'Amir, do you leave me to be stifled to death by a lump in my neck as big as a camel's lump here in the house of a woman of Banu Salūl ?"

Another persistent associationist was Arbad ibn Qays. He, too, refused to convert and returned to Banu 'Amir where he perished by lightning shortly after his arrival at the marketplace. However, neither 'Amir nor Arbad, whether dead or alive, could stop their people from joining Islam. Worse yet was the case of Musaylimah ibn Habib who accompanied the delegation of his tribe, the Banū Hanifah of Yamämah, to the Prophet. His companions assigned him the job of watching their horses while they entered the court of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) to present their submission and receive his blessing. They did not forget him, but they mentioned his case to Muhammad (P.B.U.H), and the latter ordered that he be given exactly what his companions received. Indeed, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) praised him for agreeing to stay behind and watch his people's property. But when Musaylimah heard of this, false pride took possession of him and he claimed to be himself a prophet. He not only started to argue that Allah had associated him with Muhammad (P.B.U.H) in prophethood but as well to compose rhymes and verses in imitation of the Qur'ān. He recited such verses as "God blessed the pregnant woman. He brought forth from her the breath of life, embedded within a well-padded womb." Musaylimah proclaimed wine and adultery legitimate, and he absolved men from the obligation of prayer. He preached widely but was met with ridicule. Except for these individual cases, Arab groups from all corners of the Peninsula, led by some of the greatest men of the period such as 'Adiyy ibn Hātim and 'Umar ibn Ma'di Karib, entered the religion of Allah. The kings of Himyar sent a messenger to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) declaring their conversion to Islam, and the Prophet (P.B.U.H) accepted their conversion and wrote to them explaining their rights and obligations under Allah. It was then

that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) sent some of the early converts to teach the new Muslims in the south the institutions of their faith and to deepen their understanding of it.

The Other Deputations

Unlike some early biographers, we shall not spend time relating the details of the delegations of tribes who came to declare their entrance into the faith. In his al ***Tabaqāt al Kubrā,*** the historian Ibn Sa'd devoted fifty long pages to those details. Suffice it here to mention only their names. These were: Muzaynah, Asad, Tamim, 'Abs, Fazārah, Murrah, Tha'labah, Muhārib, Sa'd ibn Bakr, Kilāb, Ru'as ibn Kilāb, 'Uqayl ibn Ka'b, Ja'dah, Qushayr ibn Ka'b, Banū al Bakka', Kinānah, Ashja', Bāhilah, Sulaym, Hilāl ibn 'Amir, 'Amir ibn Sa'sa'ah, Thaqif; the Rabi'ah group of 'Abd al Qays, Bakr ibn ***Wā'il,*** Taghlib, Hanifah, Shayban; the Yamani tribes of Tay', Tujib, Khawlān, Ju'fiyy, Sudā', Murad, Zubayd, Kindah, al Sadif, Khushayn, Sa'd Hudaym, Baliyy, Bahrā', 'Udhrah, Salaman, Juhaynah, Kalb, Jarm, al Azd, Ghassān, al Hārith ibn Ka'b, Hamdān, Sa'd al 'Ashirah, 'Ans, al Dariyyin, al Rahawiyyin branch of Madhhaj, Ghāmid, al Nakha', Bajilah, Khath'am, al Ash'arayn, Hadramawt, Azd 'Umān, Ghāfiq, Bāriq, Daws, Thumalah, al Huddān, Aslam, Judham, Mahrah, Himyar, Najrān, and Jayshfln. There remained not one of the tribes of the Peninsula, or of its clans, but had entered into Islam.

Such was the fate of the associationists who lived in the Arabian Peninsula. They hastened to enter into Islam and to abandon the worship of idols until the countryside was cleansed of idols and idol-worship. All this was accomplished after the campaign of Tabūk and willingly and in freedom without a single soul being coerced or a single drop of blood being spilled. But what did the Jews and Christians do with Muhammad (P.B.U.H), and what did the latter do to them?

29

The Farewell Pilgrimage

Ever since 'Ali ibn Abu Tālib recited the opening verses of the ***Sūrah*** "Al Tawbah" to the Muslims and associationists who came to perform the pilgrimage under the leadership of Abū Bakr, and ever since the announcement that henceforth no associationist would enter paradise or perform the pilgrimage, no naked man would circumambulate the Holy House, and that whoever had a covenant with the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) would have his covenant honored till its expiration, the unbelievers of the Arabian Peninsula realized that their idol worship would have to come to an end. They awoke to the fact that unless they themselves put an end to idolatry, they would eventually have to take up arms against Allah and His Prophet (P.B.U.H). This situation applied particularly to the southern regions of the Peninsula, al Yaman and Hadramawt, because al Hijāz and all the territories of the north had already entered into the new faith and stood under its protection.

Islam's Distinction between Paganism and the Religions of the Book

In the south, associationism and Christianity divided the

land. As we have seen in the preceding chapter, most associationists announced their entry into Allah's religion and sent their delegations to Madinah to proclaim it. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) accorded these delegations all the welcome possible, thereby hastening the entrance of others and confirming the new converts in the faith. Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) restitution to each prince of his princedom and to each leader of his leadership made all these new converts extremely keen to protect their new status. As for the People of the Book, whether Jews or Christians, the following verses from ***Sūrah*** "Al Tawbah," read by 'Ali on that momentous occasion had become known to them.

﴿ قَـٰتِلُوا۟ ٱلَّذِينَ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ بِٱللَّهِ وَلَا بِٱلْيَوْمِ ٱلْـَٔاخِرِ وَلَا
يُحَرِّمُونَ مَا حَرَّمَ ٱللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُۥ وَلَا يَدِينُونَ دِينَ ٱلْحَقِّ مِنَ ٱلَّذِينَ
أُوتُوا۟ ٱلْكِتَـٰبَ حَتَّىٰ يُعْطُوا۟ ٱلْجِزْيَةَ عَن يَدٍ وَهُمْ صَـٰغِرُونَ ﴿٢٩﴾
وَقَالَتِ ٱلْيَهُودُ عُزَيْرٌ ٱبْنُ ٱللَّهِ وَقَالَتِ ٱلنَّصَـٰرَى ٱلْمَسِيحُ ٱبْنُ ٱللَّهِ ۖ
ذَٰلِكَ قَوْلُهُم بِأَفْوَٰهِهِمْ ۖ يُضَـٰهِـُٔونَ قَوْلَ ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا۟ مِن قَبْلُ ۚ
قَـٰتَلَهُمُ ٱللَّهُ ۚ أَنَّىٰ يُؤْفَكُونَ ﴿٣٠﴾ ٱتَّخَذُوٓا۟ أَحْبَارَهُمْ وَرُهْبَـٰنَهُمْ أَرْبَابًا
مِّن دُونِ ٱللَّهِ وَٱلْمَسِيحَ ٱبْنَ مَرْيَمَ وَمَآ أُمِرُوٓا۟ إِلَّا لِيَعْبُدُوٓا۟ إِلَـٰهًا
وَٰحِدًا ۖ لَّآ إِلَـٰهَ إِلَّا هُوَ ۚ سُبْحَـٰنَهُۥ عَمَّا يُشْرِكُونَ ﴿٣١﴾ يُرِيدُونَ
أَن يُطْفِـُٔوا۟ نُورَ ٱللَّهِ بِأَفْوَٰهِهِمْ وَيَأْبَى ٱللَّهُ إِلَّآ أَن يُتِمَّ نُورَهُۥ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ
ٱلْكَـٰفِرُونَ ﴿٣٢﴾ هُوَ ٱلَّذِىٓ أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُۥ بِٱلْهُدَىٰ وَدِينِ ٱلْحَقِّ

لِيُظْهِرَهُۥ عَلَى ٱلدِّينِ كُلِّهِۦ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ ٱلْمُشْرِكُونَ ﴿٣٣﴾ ۞ يَٰٓأَيُّهَا
ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوٓا۟ إِنَّ كَثِيرًا مِّنَ ٱلْأَحْبَارِ وَٱلرُّهْبَانِ لَيَأْكُلُونَ أَمْوَٰلَ
ٱلنَّاسِ بِٱلْبَٰطِلِ وَيَصُدُّونَ عَن سَبِيلِ ٱللَّهِ ۗ وَٱلَّذِينَ يَكْنِزُونَ
ٱلذَّهَبَ وَٱلْفِضَّةَ وَلَا يُنفِقُونَهَا فِى سَبِيلِ ٱللَّهِ فَبَشِّرْهُم بِعَذَابٍ أَلِيمٍ ﴿٣٤﴾
يَوْمَ يُحْمَىٰ عَلَيْهَا فِى نَارِ جَهَنَّمَ فَتُكْوَىٰ بِهَا جِبَاهُهُمْ وَجُنُوبُهُمْ
وَظُهُورُهُمْ ۖ هَٰذَا مَا كَنَزْتُمْ لِأَنفُسِكُمْ فَذُوقُوا۟ مَا كُنتُمْ تَكْنِزُونَ ﴿٣٥﴾ ﴾

سورة التوبة الآيات ٢٩-٣٥

(Fight those who believe not in Allah nor the Last Day, nor hold that forbidden which has been forbidden by Allah and His Messenger, nor acknowledge the Religion of Truth, from among the People of the Book, until they pay the Jizya with willing submission, and feel themselves subdued. The Jews call 'Uzair a son of Allah, and the Christians call Christ the son of Allah. That is a saying from their mouth: (in this) they but imitate what the Unbelievers of old used to say. Allah's curse be on them: how they are deluded away from the Truth! They take their priests and their anchorites to be their lords beside Allah, and (they take as their Lord) Christ, the son of Mary; yet they were commanded to worship but One God: there is no god but He. Praise and glory to Him: (far is He) from having the partners they associate (with Him). Fain would they extinguish Allah's Light with their mouths, but Allah will not allow but that His Light should be perfected, even though the Unbelievers may detest (it). It is He Who has sent His Messenger with Guidance and the Religion of Truth, to

cause it to prevail over all religion, even though the Pagans may detest (it). O you who believe! There are indeed many among the priests and anchorites, who in falsehood devour the wealth of men and hinder (them) from the Way of Allah. And there are those who board gold and silver and spend it not in the Way of Allah: announce unto them a most grievous chastisement. On the Day when heat will be heated in the fire of Hell, and with it will be branded their foreheads, their flanks, and their backs, "This is the (treasure) which you hoarded for yourselves: taste you, then, the (treasures) you hoarded)

(At-Tawbah:29-35)

Faced with these verses from ***Surah*** "Al Tawbah" with which the whole Qur'ānic Revelation came to an end, many historians ask themselves whether or not the Revelation of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) has not changed tone in regard to the People of the Book. Some western Orientalists even claim that these verses have put the People of the Book on a level with the unbelieving associationists; that after achieving victory over paganism with the assistance of Judaism and Christianity, as was demanded by the proclamation that Islam confirmed the religion of Jesus, Moses, Abraham and the earlier prophets, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had turned his wrath against the Jews who opposed him and fought them until they evacuated the Peninsula. During this time, so the claim runs, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) pretended friendship with the Christians and recited verses which praised their genuine faith and friendliness, such as:

﴿ ۞ لَتَجِدَنَّ أَشَدَّ ٱلنَّاسِ عَدَٰوَةً لِّلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا۟ ٱلْيَهُودَ وَٱلَّذِينَ أَشْرَكُوا۟ ۖ وَلَتَجِدَنَّ أَقْرَبَهُم مَّوَدَّةً لِّلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا۟ ٱلَّذِينَ قَالُوٓا۟ إِنَّا

نَصَـٰرَىٰ ۚ ذَٰلِكَ بِأَنَّ مِنْهُمْ قِسِّيسِينَ وَرُهْبَانًا وَأَنَّهُمْ لَا يَسْتَكْبِرُونَ ﴿٨٢﴾ سورة المائدة آية ٨٢

(Strongest among men in enmity to the Believers wilt you find the Jews and Pagans; and nearest among them in love to the Believers will you find those who say, "We are Christians": because amongst these are men devoted to learning and men who have renounced the world, and they are not arrogant.) (Al-Ma'idah:82)

But now, the claim continued, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) has turned his wrath against Christianity and sought to destroy its adherents as he did those of Judaism before. Arguing from these premises, a number of Orientalists have blamed Muhammad (P.B.U.H) for regarding Christianity on a level with unfaith. They invoke the fact that Christians had protected his followers when they took refuge in Abyssinia. They also invoke the facts that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had approved of the religion of the people of Najrān and other Arab Christians and that he allowed them to follow their rituals of worship. Finally, the western Orientalists claim that it was this turnabout in the strategy of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) which established the continuing hostility between Muslims and Christians. Their purpose is to impute to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) a strategy which, they claim, made any reconciliation between the followers of Jesus and Muhammad (P.B.U.H) very difficult, if not impossible.

On the face of it, this argument seems appealing and logical. Those to whom it is intended might even incline to see in it some if not all the truth. However, a careful investigation of the situation, context, and causes of Revelation of the said verses leaves no reason for doubt that the attitude of Islam and Muhammad (P.B.U.H) toward the scriptural religions was

always one and the same. The Messiah, son of Mary, is of the spirit of Allah. He is Allah's word, given unto Mary. In his lifetime, the Messiah was a servant of Allah to whom Allah revealed the Book, whom He commissioned as a prophet, blessed, commanded to hold the prayers, and always to pay the ***zakāt.*** From the beginning of Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) prophethood to its end, the Qur'ānic revelation maintained that Allah is One, that He was not born, that He did not give birth to anyone, and that None is like unto Him.

Such is the spirit of Islam. Such has been its foundation from the very first moment. And such will the spirit of Islam remain for all eternity. A delegation of the Christians of Najrān went to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and argued with him in the matter of Allah as well as in the matter of Jesus' prophethood a long time before the Revelation of ***Sūrah*** "Al Tawbah." They asked Muhammad (P.B.U.H), "If Mary is the mother of Jesus, who was his father?" In this connection, the following verse was revealed:

﴿ إِنَّ مَثَلَ عِيسَىٰ عِندَ ٱللَّهِ كَمَثَلِ ءَادَمَ ۖ خَلَقَهُۥ مِن تُرَابٍ ثُمَّ
قَالَ لَهُۥ كُن فَيَكُونُ ﴿٥٩﴾ ٱلْحَقُّ مِن رَّبِّكَ فَلَا تَكُن مِّنَ ٱلْمُمْتَرِينَ ﴿٦٠﴾
فَمَنْ حَآجَّكَ فِيهِ مِنۢ بَعْدِ مَا جَآءَكَ مِنَ ٱلْعِلْمِ فَقُلْ تَعَالَوْا۟ نَدْعُ
أَبْنَآءَنَا وَأَبْنَآءَكُمْ وَنِسَآءَنَا وَنِسَآءَكُمْ وَأَنفُسَنَا وَأَنفُسَكُمْ ثُمَّ نَبْتَهِلْ
فَنَجْعَل لَّعْنَتَ ٱللَّهِ عَلَى ٱلْكَٰذِبِينَ ﴿٦١﴾ إِنَّ هَٰذَا لَهُوَ ٱلْقَصَصُ
ٱلْحَقُّ ۚ وَمَا مِنْ إِلَٰهٍ إِلَّا ٱللَّهُ ۚ وَإِنَّ ٱللَّهَ لَهُوَ ٱلْعَزِيزُ ٱلْحَكِيمُ ﴿٦٢﴾ فَإِن
تَوَلَّوْا۟ فَإِنَّ ٱللَّهَ عَلِيمٌۢ بِٱلْمُفْسِدِينَ ﴿٦٣﴾ قُلْ يَٰٓأَهْلَ ٱلْكِتَٰبِ تَعَالَوْا۟ إِلَىٰ

كَلِمَةٍ سَوَآءٍ بَيْنَنَا وَبَيْنَكُمْ أَلَّا نَعْبُدَ إِلَّا ٱللَّهَ وَلَا نُشْرِكَ بِهِۦ شَيْـًٔا وَلَا يَتَّخِذَ بَعْضُنَا بَعْضًا أَرْبَابًا مِّن دُونِ ٱللَّهِ ۚ فَإِن تَوَلَّوْا۟ فَقُولُوا۟ ٱشْهَدُوا۟ بِأَنَّا مُسْلِمُونَ ﴿٦٤﴾ سورة آل عمران الآيات ٥٩-٦٤

(The similitude of Jesus before Allah is as that of Adam; He created him from dust, then said to him "Be": and he was. The Truth (comes) from your Lord alone; so be not of those who doubt. If anyone disputes in this matter with you, now after (full) knowledge has come to you, say: "Come! let us gather together - our sons and your sons, our women and your women, ourselves and yourselves : then let us earnestly pray, and invoke the curse of Allah on those who lie!" This is the true account; there is no god except Allah; and Allah, He is indeed the Exalted in Power, the Wise. But if they turn back, Allah has full knowledge of those who do mischief. Say: "O People of the Book! come to common terms as between us and you: that we worship none but Allah; that we associate no partners with Him; that we erect not, from among ourselves, Lords and patrons other than Allah." If then they turn back, say: "Bear witness that we (at least) are Muslims (bowing to Allah's Will) (Al- Imran:59-64)

In this ***Sūrah*** of "Al 'Imran," the text irrefutably indicts the People of the Book with discouraging the Muslims from believing in Allah and throwing obstacles in the path to Him. It asks them directly why they do not believe in this new Revelation when it reaffirms the same truth which Jesus, Moses, and Abraham received from Allah, in its pristine purity, before it was tampered with and edited following the prejudices, ulterior motives, and vain desires of man. In many other ***Surahs*** of the

Qur'ān the same argument is repeated against the People of the Book. In ***Sūrah*** "Al 'Imran," for instance, as in the ***Surah*** "Al Ma'idah," Allah said:

﴿ لَّقَدْ كَفَرَ ٱلَّذِينَ قَالُوٓا۟ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ ثَالِثُ ثَلَٰثَةٍ ۘ وَمَا مِنْ إِلَٰهٍ إِلَّآ إِلَٰهٌ وَٰحِدٌ ۚ وَإِن لَّمْ يَنتَهُوا۟ عَمَّا يَقُولُونَ لَيَمَسَّنَّ ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا۟ مِنْهُمْ عَذَابٌ أَلِيمٌ ﴿٧٣﴾ أَفَلَا يَتُوبُونَ إِلَى ٱللَّهِ وَيَسْتَغْفِرُونَهُۥ ۚ وَٱللَّهُ غَفُورٌ رَّحِيمٌ ﴿٧٤﴾ مَّا ٱلْمَسِيحُ ٱبْنُ مَرْيَمَ إِلَّا رَسُولٌ قَدْ خَلَتْ مِن قَبْلِهِ ٱلرُّسُلُ وَأُمُّهُۥ صِدِّيقَةٌ ۖ كَانَا يَأْكُلَانِ ٱلطَّعَامَ ۗ ٱنظُرْ كَيْفَ نُبَيِّنُ لَهُمُ ٱلْءَايَٰتِ ثُمَّ ٱنظُرْ أَنَّىٰ يُؤْفَكُونَ ﴿٧٥﴾ ﴾

سورة المائدة الآيات ٧٣-٧٥

(They disbelieve who say: Allah is one of three (in a Trinity); but there is no god except One God. If they desist not from their word (of blasphemy), verily a grievous Chastisement will befall the disbelievers among them. Why turn they not to Allah and seek His Forgiveness? For Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful. Christ, the son of Mary, was no more than a Messenger; many were the Messengers that passed away before him. His mother was a woman of truth. They had both to eat their (daily) food. See how Allah does make His Signs clear to them; yet see in what ways they are deluded away from the truth!) (Al-Ma'idah:73-75)

In the same ***Surah,*** Allah also says:

﴿ وَإِذْ قَالَ ٱللَّهُ يَٰعِيسَى ٱبْنَ مَرْيَمَ ءَأَنتَ قُلْتَ لِلنَّاسِ ٱتَّخِذُونِى وَأُمِّىَ إِلَٰهَيْنِ مِن دُونِ ٱللَّهِ ۖ قَالَ سُبْحَٰنَكَ مَا يَكُونُ لِىٓ أَنْ أَقُولَ مَا لَيْسَ لِى بِحَقٍّ ﴿١١٦﴾ ﴾ سورة المائدة آية ١١٦

(And behold! Allah will say: "O Jesus the son of Mary! did you say unto men, 'take me and my mother for two gods beside Allah'?" He will say: "Glory to You! Never could I say what I had no right (to say). Had I said such a thing, You would indeed have known it. You know what is in my heart, though I know not what is in Yours. For You know in full all that is hidden.) !) (Al-Ma'idah:116)

And yet, while they take this part of the ***Sūrah*** for evidence, they deliberately omit consideration of the evidence of its other parts.

On the other hand, the verses of ***Surah*** "Al Tawbah" which mention the People of the Book, do not discuss their faith in Jesus, the son of Mary. Rather, they discuss their association of other beings with Allah, their unjust economic exploitation of the people, and their hoarding of gold and silver. Islam undoubtedly regards such practices on the part of the People of the Book as violating the religion of Jesus. Therefore, Islam does well to criticize them as making legitimate that which Allah had forbidden and of being guilty of those practices which usually belong to those who believe neither in Allah nor in the Day of Judgment. Nonetheless, Islam was careful enough to remind them that their faith in Allah, despite all their evil and immoral practices, would intercede for them in Allah's judgment. It reassured them that their faith in Allah would lift them above the

pagans and would enable them, even though they declare Allah to be one of three and tolerate that which Allah forbade, to get by with merely paying the ***jizyah*** and acknowledging subjection.

More Deputations to the Prophet (P.B.U.H)

It was precisely this call, which was proclaimed by 'Ali at the pilgrimage led by Abū Bakr, that brought in its trail the conversion of the South Arabians. Their delegations then followed one another to Madinah as we have said earlier. Among these were the delegations of associationists as well as of People of the Book. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) used to give the best welcome to anyone who sought him, and to reinstitute the princes and leaders in their positions of power upon conversion to Islam. Al Ash'ath ibn Qays led the delegation of Kindah which consisted of eighty horsemen. Seeking the Prophet (P.B.U.H), they entered the mosque clad in silken mantles, and with decorated eyes and faces. When the Prophet (P.B.U.H) saw them in this condition, he said: "Have you not entered Islam ?" They answered, "Certainly." Muhammad (P.B.U.H) then retorted: "What is all this silk around your necks?" immediately every one of them tore his mantle to bits. Al Ash'ath said in apology to the Prophet (P.B.U.H): "O Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), we are noblemen, sons of noblemen. But so are you! You would, then, understand our will to self-distinction." The Prophet (P.B.U.H) smiled and related the story to al 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al Muttalib and Rabi'ah ibn al Hārith. Along with al Ash'ath there came Wā'il ibn Hujr, of Kindah, who was the ruler of the coastlands of Hadramawt. He, too, converted to Islam, was confirmed in his rulership and asked to collect the tithe from his citizens for transfer to the Muslim collectors. Mu'awiyah ibn Abu Sufyan was commanded to accompany Wā'il home. On the way, accustomed to behaving as royalty, Wā'il refused to let Mu'āwiyah ride with him or even to lend him his sandals that he

might protect his feet from the hot sand. He thought it sufficient condescension on his part to allow Mu'awiyah to walk in the shadow of his camel. Despite the violation of the egalitarianism and fraternity of Islam, Mu'awiyah acquiesced in order to help Wa'il and his people secure their new faith.

Arab Unity under the Banner of Islam

When Islam spread in Yaman, ihe Prophet (P.B.U.H) sent Mu'adh to teach its people the ethic and law of the new faith. He advised Mu'ādh, "Make things easy and do not raise obstacles. Reconcile and do not alienate. Some People of the Book will ask you, 'What is the key to Paradise?' Answer, 'It is to witness that there is no God but Allah; that He is alone and without associates !" Mu'ādh travelled to Yaman together with a number of early converts and tax collectors, all commissioned to teach the people and to judge between them by the law of Allah and His Prophet (P.B.U.H). As Islam spread from one corner of the Arabian Peninsula to another, its people from the extreme north to the extreme south became one ***ummah,*** unified under the banner of Muhammad, the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) Everybody acknowledged one and the same religion, Islam; and all turned together to the worship of one God, without associates. Only twenty years before, the same people were hostile tribes, warring with one another, and robbing one another's property and wealth. Now that they all joined Islam's ranks, the country was cleansed of the abomination of paganism and became reconciled to live under the shadow of Divine judgment. Thus, intertribal hostility was eradicated, and there was neither aggression nor injustice. Henceforth, no one was to draw his sword except to defend the greater cauntry or to put an end to aggression against the religion of Allah.

Conversion of Arab Christians to Islam

A group of Christians from Najrān opted to keep their faith and not to follow the example of Banu al Hārith, the majority of whom had joined Islam. To these the Prophet (P.B.U.H) sent Khālid ibn al Walid to preach to them the faith and to bring them into the pax ***Islāmica*** that had .just covered the Peninsula end to end. They responded favorably to his call and entered Islam.

Khālid then arranged for a delegation of them to visit Madinah where the Prophet (P.B.U.H) met them with friendly welcome. Another group from Yaman found it difficult to subject themselves to the dominion of Islam for the provincial reason that Islam arose in Hijaz rather than in their country. Since they had never been subjected to Hijaz, which had on many occasions been the object of military campaigns by the people of Yaman, the latter were too proud to submit. To them the Prophet (P.B.U.H) sent 'Ali ibn Abū Tālib to call them to Islam, but they attacked him. Tender of age though he was, and commanding no greater force than three hundred horsemen, 'Ali vanquished them. For a second time they regrouped their forces and fought. But again 'Ali surrounded them and broke their resistance. Finally, they submitted and converted to Islam in good faith. They listened to the teachings of Mu'ādh and his companions. Their delegation to Madinah was the last one which the Prophet (P.B.U.H) met before his death.

The Prophet (P.B.U.H)Prepares for Pilgrimage

While 'All was preparing to return to Makkah, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) was preparing to undertake the pilgrimage and advising his companions to do likewise. The month of DhU al Qi'dah was almost at an end, to be followed by Dhū al Hijjah, the month of pilgrimage. Up until that time, the Prophet

(P.B.U.H) had not performed the pilgrimage ritual in full, though he had performed the lesser pilgrimage on two previous occasions. The ritual of the pilgrimage had to be established in its entirety so that the Muslims might learn and follow it. As soon as the people knew of the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) intention and heard his call to march with him on pilgrimage, the whole Peninsula reverberated with the call, and thousands and thousands of people from all corners poured into Madinah. From every town and village, from every mountain and valley, from every plain and desert across the wide Peninsula, the people arrived to perform the pilgrimage. It was as if this vast expanse of land had all been illuminated by the dazzling light of Allah and His Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H). Around Madinah tents were set up to accommodate the new visitors, numbering 100,000 or more, who had risen up in response to the call of their Prophet, Muhammad the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H).

All these men came as brethren, in love and respect for one another, and united in the true bond of friendship and Islamic brotherhood, whereas but yesteryear they had been the most hostile of enemies. These thousands upon thousands of men crisscrossed the streets of Madinah,all manifesting the smiles of faith, the certainty of conviction, and the confidence and pride of true religion. Their convocation was an inspiring evidence of the victory of truth, of the wide reach of the light of Allah, and of the deep bond of truth and righteousness which had cemented them one to the other so that they stood like one great fortress.

The Muslims March for Pilgrimage

On the twenty-fifth of Dhu al Qi'dah of the year 10 A.H., the Prophet (P.B.U.H) set forth toward Makkah accompanied by all his wives, each riding her own carriage. He was followed by a great multitude, numbering 90,000 according to some historians,

114,000 according to others. These men marched with consciences deeply moved by faith, with hearts full of joy and contentment at their intended accomplishment of pilgrimage to the holy sanctuary of Allah. They reached Dhu al Hulayfah at the end of the day and there they spent the night. On the following morning, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) put himself into a sacral state and the Muslims followed his example. Everyone shed his clothes and put on two pieces of unsewn white cloth, the simplest of all garments. In this way, they expressed the absolute egalitarianism of Islam in its most eloquent and highest sense. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) turned to Allah with all his heart and mind praying, "At your service, O Allah! At your service! You have no associates! At your service, O Allah! Praise be toAllah! Thanks be to Allah! At your service, O Allah! You have no associates! At your service, O Allah! You have no associates, O Allah! At your service, O Allah !" And all the Muslims repeated these words after him. Deserts, valleys, and mountains reverberated with this prayer. The sky itself reverberated with the call of those pious, believing, and worshipping souls. Thus the procession continued on its way to Makkah, its thousands and hundreds of thousands filling the air with the sound of this prayer. At every mosque on the way to Makkah, the procession would stop to pray, and the voices of the thousands would rise proclaiming the unity of Allah, their praise and blessing in anticipation of the great day of pilgrimage that awaited them. Everyone was impatient to reach the sanctuary ofAllah that he revered and honored more than anything else in the world. Undoubtedly, the deserts, mountains, and valleys, the trees, birds and skies were moved by what they witnessed in this great call, the like of which they had never heard before! They and the Peninsula had been blessed by the advent of this illiterate Prophet, Muhammad (P.B.U.H), the Servant of Allah and His Messenger (P.B.U.H).

Desacralization after the 'Umrah or Lesser Pilgrimage

When the procession reached Sarif, midway between Makkah and Madinah, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) said to his companions: "Those of you who do not have any sacrificial animals with them may perform the lesser pilgrimage. But those who do, must perform the complete ritual.' The procession continued and reached Makkah on the fourth of Dhū al Hijjah. Upon arrival, the Prophet, followed by the Muslims, hastened to the Ka'bah. There, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) went to the Black Stone and kissed it. Then he circumambulated the holy sanctuary seven times, the first three of which he did at a trotting pace, just as he had done in the lesser pilgrimage. He then proceeded to the Sanctuary of Ibrahim where he performed a prayer. Returning back to the Black Stone, he kissed it once more and then left the temple area for the Mount of al Safā, and from there performed the ***Sa'y*** between that mount and the mount of Marwah He then announced to the Pilgrims that whoever did not have an animal to sacrifice should now desacralize himself and bring his pilgrimage ritual to a close. Some pilgrims hesitated, and this angered the Prophet (P.B.U.H). He repeated his command. When he entered his tent, the anger visible on his face, 'Aishah inquired about it. He answered, "How can I be otherwise when my commands are not obeyed?" As a visiting companion inquired again, adding, "Whoever angers the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) will taste of the fire," the Prophet (P.B.U.H) said, "Is it not strange that I command the people and find them hesitant to obey? If it were permissible to come to pilgrimage without animals to sacrifice, I too would have been content to perform the lesser pilgrimage and desacralize at this moment." So relates Muslim. When the news of the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) anger reached the people, thousands of them terminated their pilgrimage regretfully. Even the wives of the Prophet (P.B.U.H),

including his daughter Fātimah, did likewise. Only those people who had brought sacrificial animals with them kept themselves in the sacral state.

'Ali's Return from Yaman

While the Muslims were performing their pilgrimage, 'Ali returned from his campaign in Yaman. Before entering Makkah, and upon hearing that the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) was leading the pilgrimage, 'Ali put himself in a sacral state and wore the pilgrim garments. Upon finding that his wife Fātimah, had desacralized herself, he asked for an explanation. He was told that the Prophet (P.B.U.H) had commanded that only lesser pilgrimage was permitted to those who did not bring their sacrificial animals with them. 'Ali went to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and there related to him the news of his campaign in Yaman. When he finished, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) asked him to circumambulate the holy sanctuary and then to desacralize himself like the rest. 'Ali retorted: "Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), I have recited exactly the same prayers as you have." The Prophet (P.B.U.H) said. "Even so, desacralize yourself as your companions have done." 'Ali rejoined again: "Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), when I put myself in the sacral state, I recited: 'O Allah, I intend to perform this pilgrimage in identically the same manner as Your Prophet (P.B.U.H), Servant, and Apostle Muhammad (P.B.U.H).'" The Prophet (P.B.U.H) then asked 'Ali whether he had any sacrificial animals and, when 'Ali answered in the negative, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) gave him some of his own. For this reason, 'Ali kept his sacral state and performed the ritual of pilgrimage in its complete form.

Performance of the Pilgrimage Ritual

On the eighth day of Dhu al Hijjah, the day of al Tarwiyah, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) went to Minā and spent the day and night in that locality. There, he performed all the prayers incumbent during that period. The following day, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) recited his dawn prayer and, at sunrise, proceeded on his camel, al Qaswa', to the Mount of 'Arafat, followed by all the pilgrims. As he ascended the mountain, he was surrounded by thousands of his companions reciting the ***talbiyah*** and the ***takbir***. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) naturally heard their recitations but made no effort either to stop them or to encourage them. He commanded some of his companions to put up a tent for him on the east side of the mountain at a spot called Namirah. When the sun passed the zenith, he ordered his camel to be saddled, and rode on it until he reached the valley of 'Uranah.

The Prophet's (P.B.U.H) Last Sermon

It was there that he, while sitting on his camel, delivered his sermon in a loud voice to his people. Rabi'ah ibn Umayyah ibn Khalaf repeated the sermon after him sentence by sentence.

He began by praising Allah and thanking Him, and then turning to the people, he said:

"O Men, listen well to my words, for I do not know whether I shall meet you again on such an occasion in the future.

O Men, your lives and your property shall be inviolate until you meet your Lord. The safety of your lives and of your property shall be as inviolate as this holy day and holy month. Remember that you will indeed meet your Lord, and that He will indeed reckon your deeds. Thus do I warn you. Whoever of you is keeping a trust of someone else shall return that trust to its rightful owner. All interest obligation shall henceforth be

waived. Your capital, however, is yours to keep. You will neither inflict nor suffer inequity. Allah has judged that there shall be no interest and that all the interest due to 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al Muttalib shall henceforth be waived. Every right arising out of homicide in pre-Islamic days is henceforth waived. And the first such right that I waive is that arising from the murder of Rabi'ah ibn al Harith ibn 'Abd al Muttalib. O Men, the devil has lost all hope of ever being worshipped in this land of yours. Nevertheless, he still is anxious to determine the lesser of your deeds. Beware of him, therefore, for the safety of your religion. O Men, intercalation or tampering with the calendar is evidence of great unbelief and confirms the unbelievers in their misguidance. They indulge in it one year and forbid it the next in order to make permissible that which Allah forbade, and to forbid that which Allah has made permissible. The pattern according to which the time is reckoned is always the same. With Allah, the months are twelve in number. Four of them are holy. Three of these are successive and one occurs singly between the months of Jumada and Sha'ban. O Men, to you a right belongs with respect to your women and to your women a right with respect to you. It is your right that they not fraternize with any one of whom you do not approve, as well as never to commit adultery. But if they do, then Allah has permitted you to isolate them within their homes and to chastise them without cruelty. But if they abide by your right, then to them belongs the right to be fed and clothed in kindness. Do treat your women well and be kind to them, for they are your partners and committed helpers. Remember that you have taken them as your wives and enjoyed their flesh only under Allah's trust and with His permission. Reason well, therefore, O Men, and ponder my words which I now convey to you. I am leaving you with the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of His Prophet (P.B.U.H). If you follow them, you will never go astray. O Men, harken well to my words. Learn that every Muslim is a brother to every Muslim and

that the Muslims constitute one brotherhood. Nothing shall be legitimate to a Muslim which belongs to a fellow Muslim unless it was given freely and willingly. Do not, therefore, do injustice to your own selves. O Allah, have I conveyed Your message ?"

As the Prophet (P.B.U.H) delivered his speech, Rabi'ah repeated it sentence by sentence and asked the people every now and then whether or not they had understood the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) words and committed them to memory. In order to make sure that the people understood and remembered, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) used to ask his crier to say: "The Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) asks, 'Do you know which day is this?" The audience would answer, "Today is the day of the greater pilgrimage." The Prophet (P.B.U.H) then would say, "Tell them that Allah has declared inviolate your lives and your property until the day you will meet your Lord; that he has made the safety of your property and of your lives as inviolate as this day." At the end of his speech, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) asked, "O Allah, have I conveyed your message ?" And the people answered from all corners, "Indeed so! Allah be witness."

When the Prophet (P.B.U.H) finished his sermon, he dismounted and waited until noon, at which time he performed both the noon and the midafternoon prayers. He then mounted his camel and proceeded to al Sakharāt where he recited to the people the concluding Divine Revelation: "Today I have completed for you your religion, and granted you the last of my blessings.

﴿ ٱلْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِى وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ ٱلْإِسْلَٰمَ دِينًا ﴾ سورة المائدة آية ٣

(This day have I perfected your religion for you, completed My favour upon you, and have chosen for you Islam as your religion.) (Al-Ma'idah:3)

When Abū Bakr heard this verse he realized that with the completion of the Divine message, the Prophet's life (P.B.U.H) was soon to come to a close.

The Prophet (P.B.U.H) left 'Arafat and spent his night at Muzdalifah. In the morning, he visited first the sanctuary of al Mash'ar, and then Minā on the road to which he threw pebbles against the symbol of Satan. When he reached his tent, he sacrificed sixty-three camels, one for each year of his life. 'Ali sacrificed the rest of the animals which the Prophet (P.B.U.H) had brought with him from Madinah. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) then shaved his head and declared his pilgrimage completed. This pilgrimage is sometimes called "the Farewell Pilgrimage." Others have called it the "Pilgrimage of the Annunciation" and others, the "Pilgrimage of Islam." In truth, the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) pilgrimage was all these at once. It was the "Farewell Pilgrimage" because Muhammad (P.B.U.H) saw Makkah and the holy sanctuary for the last time. It was also the "Pilgrimage of Islam" because Allah completed His religion for the benefit of mankind and granted to them His total blessing. Finally, it was also the "Pilgrimage of the Annunciation" because the Prophet (P.B.U.H) had completed his announcement and conveyance to the people of what he has been commanded by Allah to announce and to convey. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was truly only an announcer, a conveyor, and a Warner sent to a people who see the truth and believe.

30

The Prophet's (P.B.U.H) Sickness and Death

Effects of the "Farewell Pilgrimage"

The "Farewell Pilgrimage" completed, tens of thousands of pilgrims began their return home. Those who came from the desert returned to the desert; those who came from Tihāmah returned hence, and those who came from the south, from Yaman, Hadramawt and neighboring territories, did likewise. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) and his immediate companions set out in the direction of Madinah. When they reached it, they settled down confident that peace had covered the entire Peninsula. Henceforth, it was natural that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) became preoccupied with the conditions of those countries under the dominion of Byzantium and Persia, especially al Sham, Egypt, and 'Iraq. Now that the people have converted to Islam in such large groups, that their delegations had already declared in Madinah their obedience and committed their peoples to serve under its banner and, finally, now that all the Arabs have united in this "Farewell Pilgrimage," the Arabian Peninsula became secure in its entirety. Indeed, there was no reason for any of the Arab kings and princes to withdraw or to violate loyalty to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) or to his religion. Under no other regime did

they enjoy more power and internal autonomy than under that which the unlettered Prophet (P.B.U.H) had instituted. Bādhān, the Persian governor of Yaman, was reinstated in his governorship as soon as he converted to Islam. In recognition of this, Badhan preserved the unity of Arabia and threw off the yoke of the Zoroastrian Persians. Whatever little rumblings took place in the Peninsula never came close to resembling rebellion, and they did not occupy the Prophet (P.B.U.H) or raise in him any apprehension for the future. The dominion of the new religion had firmly spread over all parts of the Peninsula; all faces were turned to the living and eternal Allah, and all hearts truly believed in the One, the Almighty.

The Prophetic Pretenders

It was natural, therefore, that the pretenders to prophethood who arose at the time were not the object of anxiety or care on Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) part. True, some of the tribes in the outlying distances hastened to listen to any pretender, especially after they had heard of the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) and of the success of his mission. Obviously, such tribes wished they had the same good fortune as the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) tribe, Quraysh. Precisely because of their distance from Makkah and from the headquarters of the new religion, such tribes did not yet fully absorb the new religion. However, this new religion, this honest and candid call to Allah, struck its roots firmly everywhere else. To resist it would not be easy. The anecdotes of Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) travails and sacrifices for the sake of his mission had already spread to the horizons, and everyone knew that none but Muhammad ibn 'Abdullah (P.B.U.H) was capable of such sacrifice. Every false pretension, however, must sooner or later be exposed; and no pretender to prophethood can meet with any long lasting success. Tulayhah, for instance, the leader of Banū

Asad and one of the greatest war heroes, a real lord of the desert, pretended that he, too, was a prophet and an apostle. He claimed that his true prophesying about the exact location of water when his people were lost in the desert, and almost perished from thirst, was the proof of his prophethood. But he remained afraid of contradicting Muhammad (P.B.U.H) or withdrawing his loyalty to him as long as the Prophet (P.B.U.H) lived. He therefore rebelled only after Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) death. It was Ibn al Walid that led the Muslim forces in suppressing the rebellion of Tulayhah. Upon his defeat, Tulayhah once more joined the ranks of Islam and henceforth led a virtuous life. On the other hand, neither Musaylimah nor al Aswad al 'Ansi fared any better than Tulayhah as long as the Prophet lived. The former sent to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) a message saying, "I, too, am a prophet like you. To us belongs half the earth, and to Quraysh belongs the other half, if Quraysh were only just." When Musaylimah's two messengers delivered this message of their master to Muhammad, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) told them that, were it not for the conventional security granted to messengers, he would have ordered them executed, he then asked them to convey to Musaylimah the reply that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) heard his message and realized its lies. The earth belongs to none but Allah, and Allah grants it to whomsoever He chooses among His worthy and righteous servants. Peace belongs to the right-guided."

As for al Aswad al 'Ansi, the Governor of Yaman after the death of Badhan, he began to practice magic and to call people to believe in him until he had achieved a measure of strength. Then he marched from the south toward Yaman and expelled Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) governors from the territory. He marched on Najrān and killed its governor, the son of Badhān who inherited the office from his father. Al Aswad then married the widow of the fallen ruler and brought the whole area under his dominion. All this, however, did not worry Muhammad

(P.B.U.H) nor did it call, in his judgment, for more than a word to his governors and agents in Yaman to pull al Aswad down. The Muslims of the area fulfilled the command of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) by themselves, turned the tables on al Aswad and ended his regime. And it was his own wife who put an end to his life in vengeance for the blood of her first husband.

The Prophet's (P.B.U.H) Concern for the Northern Front

Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) care and preoccupation, therefore, were directed toward the north, not toward the south of Arabia. This was especially so following his return from the "Farewell Pilgrimage." In fact, ever since the campaign of Mu'tah, when the Muslims returned without conquest after the clever and strategic withdrawal of Khalid ibn al Walid, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had been giving to Byzantium a good portion of his thought and careful planning. He was convinced that Muslim power at the northern frontier with al Sham should be firmly established if those who had been evacuated from the Peninsula and who had emigrated to Palestine were not to return and attack again. It was in consequence of this care that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) mobilized a very massive army when he heard that the Byzantines were about to advance on the northern frontier, and he himself led that army all the way to Tabūk. The Byzantines had withdrawn toward the interior upon hearing of the march of that army. This notwithstanding, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) continued to plan for' the day when the lords of Christendom who dominated the world through Byzantium might be stirred to attack in resentment against those who had brought Christianity to an end in Najran and other places in Arabia. Consequently, the Muslims did not stay long in Madinah following their return from the farewell Pilgrimage in Makkah. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) had immediately ordered the mobilization of a large army and

commanded it to march on al Sham. That is why he sent along with that army a number of the elders of Islam, the earliest Muhājirun, among whom were Abū Bakr and 'Umar. That is why he gave the command of the army to Usamah ibn Zayd ibn Hārithah.

The Prophet's (P.B.U.H) Counsel to Usāmah

Usāmah ibn Zayd, the commander of the army, was then a young man hardly twenty years of age. His appointment and precedence over the elders of Islam, the early Muhajirun, and greater companions of the Prophet (P.B.U.H), would have caused quite a stir among the people had it not been for everybody's genuine faith in the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) judgment and calculation. By appointing him, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) sought to place him in the same command in which his father fell in the campaign of Mu'tah. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) had wanted to give Usāmah cause for pride in victory tantamount to a reward for the martyrdom of his father. Moreover, such an appointment was sure to stir within the soul of the youth the greatest resolution, determination, and bravery. It was also meant as an example for the youths of Islam to carry the burden of great responsibility. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) commanded Usamah and his army to enter the approaches of al Balqa' and al Dārūm in Palestine, in the vicinity of Mu'tah where his father had fallen. He also commanded him to fight the enemy in the early hours of dawn, to fight them fearlessly, and to shower them with fire. He also commanded him to surprise the enemy, never to let the news of his advance reach them beforehand. Once victory was achieved, Usāmah was to return home quickly and not to extend his stay in those lands.

The Prophet's (P.B.U.H) Illness

Usamah and his army set up their headquarters at al Jurf, in close proximity to Madinah, and there began their preparation for the long trip to Palestine. While they were getting ready, the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) fell ill and the seriousness of his ailment prevented their going forth. One may ask with surprise how the sickness of the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) could prevent an army from undertaking a campaign which he himself had ordered. One must remember, however, that for that army to go to al Sham, it had to cross wide deserts and empty places, a matter that was not at all easy and would take many long days. It was not easy for the Muslims, considering their great love for the Prophet (P.B.U.H), to leave Madinah while he suffered from grave illness. Those same men knew that the Prophet (P.B.U.H) never suffered from any serious ailment. Nothing had adversely affected his health throughout this period except a brief lack of appetite in 6 A.H. falsely attributed to Jewish magic, and a little discomfort following his eating a bite of poisoned lamb in 7 A.H. Furthermore, the rhythm of his life and the logic of his teachings always protected him against disease. He always ate little and satisfied himself with the barest and simplest necessities. His clothes and his house were always perfectly clean, for Muhammad (P.B.U.H) not only saw to it that the duties of ablutions were perfectly carried out at all times, but he even used to say: "Were it not for my fear of imposing hardship on my people, I would have made it a duty for them to brush their teeth five times a day." On the other hand, the ritual of prayer and daily exercise which Muhammad (P.B.U.H) observed as well as his sense for economy in the pursuit of pleasure, his refrain from indulgences of all kinds, and his general unconcern for things of this world which always kept him at a distance from them, but in communion with cosmic life and the secrets of existence—all these aspects of his character protected him

against disease and gave him good health. His strong natural, construction and innate inclination to moral goodness consolidated his immunity against disease.

Now that he had fallen seriously ill, however, it was natural for his friends and companions to become concerned and anxious, fearing that the untold energies he spent during the last twenty years of life may have been begun to take effect upon him. Ever since he had proclaimed his prophethood in Makkah and begun to call men to worship Allah alone, to abandon the idols of the ancestors, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had met such great opposition and hardship that his companions had to flee to Abyssinia and he himself to the seclusion of the mountains in the outskirts of Makkah. His flight from Makkah to Madinah, following the covenant of 'Aqabah, took place under the most trying and dangerous of conditions. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) did not know what awaited him in Madinah before he arrived there under cover of night. When he did arrive there, he immediately became the object of Jewish plotting and intrigue. After Allah gave him victory following all these trials and permitted men from all corners to join the new faith, Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) duties multiplied to a tremendous extent. The keeping of the peace, the leadership of the community, the establishment of its institutions, the continuous wars he had to fight, and the attacks he had to repel would have broken the back of the strongest man.

What situation could have been more tragically trying than that in which Muhammad (P.B.U.H) found himself at the Battle of Uhud when the Muslims ran away from their enemy and Muhammad (P.B.U.H) ascended the hill alone pursued by Quraysh's soldiers; when, under a shower of enemy arrows and stones, he fell wounded, with his teeth broken? What position could be more frightening than that in which the Prophet (P.B.U.H) found himself at the Battle of Hunayn when the Muslims fell back at dawn before their attacking enemies when so determined was their retreat that Abu Sufyān could say that

"Only the sea could make them turn back again"; when in the midst of this retreating stream of people Muhammad (P.B.U.H) held his ground and called unto the Muslims: "Where to? Where to? Come back! Come back to me!" until they returned and were victorious. Moreover, there was the burden of mission, the tremendous burden of Revelation, the self-exhausting spiritual effort to keep in communion with the reality of the universe, with the supernal plenum—an effort the Prophet (P.B.U.H) was reported to have described as more horrendous than the destiny of doom which befell Hud and other ancient civilizations. Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) companions were witnesses to all this. They had seen him bear his burdens uprightly and with determination, never faltering. Now that he had fallen ill after such a splendid career, it was natural for them to want to postpone their march to al Sham for a while, until they could reassure themselves of Allah's disposition.

The Prophet's (P.B.U.H) visit to the Cemetery

In the meantime, another event took place which added to the companions' anxiety. At the beginning of his illness, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) suffered from sleeplessness. On one night, as the days were long and hot and the nights short and breezy, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) felt like going out of his house for a walk around the city. Only his servant, Abu Muwayhibah, accompanied him on this promenade. But where would he go? He went to Baqi' al Gharqad where all the cemeteries of the Muslims lay on the outskirts of Madinah. According to the reports, he stood between the graves of his fallen companions and addressed them in the following words:

"Peace be upon you who are in these graves. Blessed are you in your present state to which you have emerged from the state in which the people live on earth. Subversive attacks are falling one

after another like waves of darkness, each worse than the previous one." Abū Muwayhibah related that the Prophet (P.B.U.H) had told him upon arrival at Baqi al Gharqad: "I have been commanded to pray for those who lie in this terrain. Won't you come with me?" After praying for the dead buried in that cemetery, when it was time to return home, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) approached Abū Muwayhibah and said to him: "O Abū Muwayhibah, I have been given the keys of this world and eternity in it, and now I am being offered Paradise, and meeting with my Lord. I am asked to choose between them." Abū Muwayhibah said: "What would I not give for your sake, O Master! Is it not possible to have both? Do take the keys of this world, eternity in it, as well as Paradise." Muhammad (P.B.U.H) answered: "No, by Allah, O Abu Muwayhibah. I have chosen Paradise and meeting with my Lord."

Abū Muwayhibah must have reported what he had seen and heard. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) began to complain from his sickness the morning following the night on which he had visited the cemetery of al Baqi'. It was then that the people became concerned and the army of Usāmah did not move. True, the report of Abū Muwayhibah is doubted by many historians who believe that Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) sickness could not have been the only reason that prevented the army from marching to al Sham, that another cause was the disappointment of many, including a number of elderly Muhajirun and Ansār, with respect to the leadership assigned to the army. They based their judgment on facts that are given in the sequel. Although we do not wish here to dispute their judgment concerning the report of Abu Muwayhibah, we do not find reason to justify their denial of the event altogether. Whatever the value of the report, it is not necessary to deny the event of the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) visit to the cemetery of Baqi' al Gharqad, his prayer for its dead, or his realization that the hour of meeting with his Lord was soon to strike. In our age, science does not deny the possibility of

communication between spirits. It subsumes such communication under the category of psychic phenomena. There have been many men endowed with strong and sensitive perception who knew that their hour was close, and many witnesses to this effect can be produced. Furthermore, communication between the living and the dead, the connection between the past and the present in a manner not limited by either space or time is today regarded as indubitable fact, although man's nature being what it is, it is not given for us to perceive its forms. There is hence no reason to deny the event of the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) visit to the cemetery of Baqi' as out of place considering Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) spiritual and psychic power of comniunication with the realms of reality and his awareness of spiritual reality that surpasses that of ordinary men.

Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) Congenial Mood

On the following morning, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) found 'A'ishah, his wife, complaining of a headache and holding her head between her hands, murmuring, "O My head !" Having begun to feel pain, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) answered, "But rather, O 'A'ishah, my own head !" However, the pain was not strong enough to put him to bed, to stop his daily work, or to prevent him from talking kindly to his wives and joking with them. As 'A'ishah continued to complain from her headache, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) said to her: "It wouldn't be too bad after all, O 'A'ishah, if you were to die before me. For I would then pray for you and attend your funeral." But this only aroused jealousy in the youthful 'A'ishah, who answered: "Let that be the good fate of someone else besides me. By Allah, should that ever happen to me, your other wives would still be there to give you company." The Prophet (P.B.U.H) smiled, but did not follow up the conversation because of an attack of pain. As soon as the

pain subsided, he got up and visited with his wives just as he had always done. The pain returned with stronger force, however, so that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) could not bear it any longer. He was in the quarters of Maymūnah, his wife, when he found it necessary to call the members of his house and to ask all of them to attend to him in the quarters of 'A'ishah. His wives agreed to nurse him there. He moved out of Maymūnah's quarters, his head wrapped, leaning on 'Ali ibn Abū Tālib on one side and on al 'Abbas, his uncle, on the other. His legs could hardly carry him. He entered the quarters of 'A'ishah and there lay down.

Attacks of Fever

His fever increased in the first days of his sickness so that he felt as if he were on fire. When the attacks of fever subsided, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) walked to the mosque to lead the prayers. He continued to do so for several days but felt too weak to talk to his companions or to listen to them. But he could hear their gossip about his appointment of a very young man to command the elder Muhajirun and Ansār in the coming campaign against al Sham. Despite the gradual deterioration of his health and the aggravation of his pain, he felt it necessary to address the people on that subject.

Sortie to the Mosque

One day he asked his wives and servants to pour on him seven goatskins of water from various wells. The water was brought from different wells as he commanded and poured over him as he sat in a tub belonging to Hafsah. He then put on his clothes, wrapped his head, and went to the mosque. Standing at the pulpit, he praised Allah, prayed for the martyrs of Uhud, and

addressed the congregation in the following words: "O Men, carry out the expedition under Usāmah. Your complaint against his generalship is of the same kind as your complaint against the generalship of his father before him. By Allah, Usamah is as fit for the generalship as was his father." Muhammad (P.B.U.H) stopped for a while, and there was absolute silence, lie then resumed his address, saying: "Has he not made the better choice who, when given the option of taking this world, the other world, or properly acquiescing in whatever is with Allah, chooses the last alternative?" Muhammad (P.B.U.H) fell silent again, and the people were absolutely motionless. With his deep perception and sensitivity Abu Bakr realized that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was here referring to himself. his loyalty to the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and profound feeling for his person overwhelmed Abū Bakr, who could not hold back his tears. Deeply moved and crying, he said : "But we would give our own lives and the lives of our children for you, O Muhammad (P.B.U.H) !" Fearing the spread of Abū Bakr's affection among the congregation, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) said softly: "O Abū Bakr!" He then commanded all the gates of the mosque to be closed except the one which led to the quarters of Abū Bakr. When this was done, he said: "I do not know of anyone whose companionship is preferable to me than yours. Of all the people of the world, I would choose only Abu Bakr as a permanent friend and constant companion. His has been the friendship and fraternity of true faith! And it will last until Allah brings us together again." Muhammad (P.B.U.H) left the pulpit to return to 'A'ishah's quarters. As he did, he turned to the people and said: "O Muhajirun, be good to al Ansar. The Muslim community increases every day, but the number of al Ansār remains the same. Al Ansār have been my own people, my trustworthy people among whom I have taken shelter. Be good to the virtuous among them, reward the pious, and forgive the wrongdoers."

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) proceeded to the house of 'A'ishah

nearly exhausted by the effort he had exerted. When a man is ill, suffering from high fever, to get out of bed and go to the Mosque after having had to cool his body with seven skins of water is hard enough. How much more exacerbating must this brief outing have been for Muhammad (P.B.U.H) when at the same time he had to confront such momentous matters as Usamah's mobilized army and the threatened fate of al Ansār as well as of the Arab ***ummah,*** newly cemented together by the religion of Islam? The following day, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) tried to get out of bed and lead the prayers in the Mosque as usual. When he found his effort futile, he ordered that Abū Bakr lead the prayers in his place. 'A'ishah was anxious for her husband to lead the prayers himself. She thought that nothing would better allay the fears of the people than for them to see the Prophet (P.B.U.H) resume his daily functions. She therefore apologized for her father, Abū Bakr, saying that his voice was too soft and that he would break down and cry whenever he recited the Qur'ān. Realizing his incapacity to rise from bed, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) ordered once again that Abū Bakr lead the prayers. When 'A'ishah insisted on her objection, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) shouted in anger: "How obsessive are women! Order Abu Bakr to lead the prayers at once."

On another day, when Abu Bakr was absent, Bilāl called the Muslims to prayer and invited 'Umar to lead them. As 'Umar's loud voice reached the ear of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) next door, he took this as another flouting of his previous command. He said: "Where is Abu Bakr? Allah and the believers do not agree that Abū Bakr be not the leader." It was this incident that convinced the people that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) has indeed appointed Abū Bakr as his successor, for leadership of the prayers was the foremost sign of succession to the Prophet (P.B.U.H).

The Prophet's (P.B.U.H) Whisper to Fātimah

After this, the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) sickness and pain increased. His fever was so high that it could be felt by his wives and servants upon touching the blankets which covered him. Fāti mah, his daughter, whom he loved deeply as his only surviving offspring, visited him every day. Whenever she entered his room, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) would cry, kiss her, and give her his own chair. One day when she entered the room, he greeted her saying, "Welcome, my daughter." But it was she who kissed him. He asked her to sit by him on his bed and whispered to her twice, first making her cry and then making her laugh. 'A'ishah sought to discover what was said; but Fātimah refused to give away what she took to be a secret. It was not until after he died that Fātimah divulged what he had then told her, namely, that he was to die of that same sickness—which caused her to cry—and that she would be the first member of his family to join him after death— which made her smile. In order to cool down his fever, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) dipped his hand in a container by his bed, filled every now and then with cold water, and wiped his face. At times, the high fever gave him convulsions. Recovering from one of those attacks, he overheard his daughter, Fātimah, say with deep sorrow: "Oh, the terrible pain my father is suffering !" At this Muhammad (P.B.U.H) said, "Your father will suffer no more pain after this day," meaning that he was to meet his Lord before the day was over.

The Prophet's (P.B.U.H) Wish to Write a Testament

Anxious to lighten his pain, his companions reminded him that he had counseled them not to complain when sick. He apologized to them, saying that his pains surpassed whatever any two of them could bear together. While under a strong attack of

fever and surrounded by visitors, he asked that pen and ink and paper be brought. He said he would dictate something for his followers' benefit, assuring them that if they adhered to it, they would never go astray. Some of the people present thought that since the Prophet (P.B.U.H) was severely ill and since the Muslims already had the Qur'ān, no further writing was necessary. It is related that that thought belonged to 'Umar. The people present disagreed among themselves, some wishing to bring writing materials and take down what the Prophet (P.B.U.H) would dictate, and others thinking that any further writing besides that of the Book of Allah would be superfluous. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) asked them all to leave, saying, "It does not become you to disagree in my presence." Ibn 'Abbās felt concerned that the people would lose something important if they did not hasten to bring the writing materials, whereas 'Umar held firmly to his judgment which he based upon Allah's own estimate of His Holy Book:

﴿ مَّا فَرَّطْنَا فِي ٱلْكِتَٰبِ مِن شَيْءٍ ۚ ﴿٣٨﴾ ﴾ سورة الأنعام آية ٣٨

(Nothing have We omitted from the Book)
(Al-An'am:38)

As the news of the deteriorating health of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) spread, Usamah and a number of his aides left their encampment at al Jurf for Madinah seeking reassurance concerning the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) health. Usamah entered the quarters of 'A'ishah unable to speak. But when Muhammad (P.B.U.H) saw Usāmah, he lifted his hands toward the sky before placing them on Usamah's shoulders, as a sign of prayer for him.

Members of the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) household saw fit at this stage to give him some medicine which Asmā', a relative of Maymunah, had learned to prepare during her stay in Abyssinia.

Taking advantage of Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) loss of consciousness, they poured the medicine into his mouth. When he came back to himself, he asked who had given him the medicine and why. His uncle, al 'Abbās, explained that they had prepared it and given it to him because they feared he had pleurisy. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) said, "That is a disease which Allah would not inflict upon me." He then ordered everyone in the house except his uncle, al 'Abbās, to taste it. Even Maymunah, who was then fasting, was forced to taste it.

At the beginning of his illness, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had in his house seven Dinars; he feared he might die while some money was still in his possession. He therefore commanded his relatives to give the money away to the poor. However, their preoccupation with his sickness and constant attendance upon him, in addition to their concern for his deteriorating health, caused them to forget to execute his order. When he came to himself on Sunday, on the eve of the day of his death, he inquired whether they had fulfilled his order. 'A'ishah answered that the money was still in her possession. He asked her to bring it forth to put on the palm of his hand. He then said: "What spectacle is this of Muhammad (P.B.U.H), if he were to meet Allah in this condition ?" The money was given forthwith to the poor.

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) spent a peaceful night in which his fever seemed to subside. It was as if the medicine which his relatives had prepared for him had somewhat alleviated the disease. In the morning he was even able to go to the mosque although his head was still wrapped and he needed to lean on 'Ali ibn Abu Tālib and al Fadl ibn al 'Abbās for support. Abū Bakr was leading the prayer at the time of Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) entry into the mosque. As the Muslims saw the Prophet (P.B.U.H) come in, they were so overjoyed at his recovery that they almost allowed their prayer to be interrupted. Abū Bakr raised his voice in the recitation signaling that the

prayer must go on and not be interrupted. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was extremely pleased with what he saw, and Abu Bakr knew well that the people would not have been diverted from prayer by the arrival of any other man. As Muhammad (P.B.U.H) came close to Abū Bakr to join in the prayer, the latter moved himself away from his position of leadership so that the Prophet (P.B.U.H) might take over. Muhammad (P.B.U.H), however, pushed him back into place saying, "You lead." He sat beside Abū Bakr and prayed in a sitting position. When he finished, he joined the congregation and talked to them with a clear voice audible even outside the mosque. He said: "O Men, the fire is ready. Subversive attacks are advancing like the waves of darkness. By Allah, I shall not be held responsible for aught of this. I have never allowed anything but that which the Qur'ān has made legitimate, and I have never forbidden aught which the Qur'ān has not forbidden. Allah's curse is upon those who take graves for their mosques."

Muslim Joy at the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) Apparent Recovery

The Muslims were so overjoyed at the signs of recovery in the health of their Prophet (P.B.U.H) that Usāmah ibn Zayd even asked for permission to march on al Sham. Indeed, even Abū Bakr came forward to say: "O Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), it is evident that Allah has granted you His blessing and given you good health just as we all wished and prayed. I had promised the Daughter of Khārijah [meaning his wife] to spend the day with her. May I take leave of you ?" The Prophet (P.B.U.H) granted him leave, and Abū Bakr went to al Sunh on the outskirts of Madinah, where his wife resided. 'Umar and 'Ali returned to their business as usual.

The Muslims dispersed in joy and happiness after their days of despondence over the news of Muhammad's (P.B.U.H)

illness. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) returned to the quarters of 'A'ishah made happy by the happiness of his fellow Muslims who filled the mosque to see him and who anxiously awaited to hear of his news. But he felt quite weak. 'A'ishah helped her husband in with a heart full of awe and sympathy, wishing she could offer him her own life and energy to replace his waning strength.

The interlude of Wakefulness before Death

The Prophet's (P.B.U.H) visit to the mosque turned out to be only an interlude of wakefulness which precedes death. After he returned home, every minute saw further deterioration of his health. There was no doubt that he had only a few hours to live. How did he spend these last few hours of his life? What was his last vision? Did he spend those precious moments reviewing the career he had lived since Allah had commissioned him to prophethood and appointed him a guide to mankind? Did he recall the hardships he suffered, the joys he experienced, and the spiritual and military victories he achieved? Or did he spend his last moments praying to Allah and asking for mercy with all his soul and all his mind as he used to do throughout his life? Or was he too weak to review anything and too unconscious even to pray? The reports vary widely. Most reports tell that on that day, ***i.e.,*** June 8, 632 C.E., one of the hottest days in Arabia, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) asked for a pitcher of cold water in which he dipped his hands and wiped his face. Most reports state that a man from the clan of Abu Bakr entered the quarters of 'A'ishah carrying a toothbrush in his hand. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) looked at him in a way expressive of his desire to obtain the toothbrush. 'A'ishah took the toothbrush from her relative and worked it out until it became pliable and handed it over to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) who used it to brush his teeth.

"Rather, Allah on High and Paradise"

The same reports also tell that as the agonies of death became stronger, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) turned to Allah in prayer saying: "O, Allah, help me overcome the agonies of death." 'A'ishah reported that his head was in her lap during the last hour. She said, "The Prophet's (P.B.U.H) head was getting heavier in my lap. I looked at his face and found that his eyes had become fixed. I heard him murmur, 'Rather, Allah on High and Paradise.' I said to him, 'By Him who sent you as a Prophet (P.B.U.H) to teach the truth, you have been given the choice and you chose well.' The Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) expired while his head was on my side between my lungs and my heart. It was my youth and inexperience that made me let him die in my lap. I then placed his head on the pillow and rose to bemoan my fate and to join the other women in our bereavement and sorrow."

Did Muhammad (P.B.U.H) truly die? That is the question over which the Arabs differed greatly at the time, indeed so greatly that they almost came to blows. Thanks to Allah's will and care, the division was quickly stamped out and the religion of the Hanifs, Allah's true religion, emerged unscathed.

31

The Prophet's (P.B.U.H) Burial

Muslim Shock at the News of Death

It was therefore in 'A'ishah's quarters, while his head lay in her lap that the Prophet (P.B.U.H) chose the company of Allah on High. When this happened, A'ishah laid his head down on a pillow and joined the other women of the house who rushed to her upon hearing the news and began to cry in bereavement and sorrow. The Muslims at the mosque were taken by surprise by the sudden noise. In the morning, they had seen the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and were convinced his health was improving so much that Abū Bakr, it will be remembered, sought permission to go and visit his wife at al Sunh.

'Umar Belies the News

Upon hearing the news and hardly believing it, 'Umar returned quickly to the Prophet's quarters (P.B.U.H). Upon arrival, he went straight to Muhammad's bed (P.B.U.H), uncovered and looked at his face for a while. He perceived its motionlessness and deathlike appearance as a coma from which he believed Muhammad (P.B.U.H) would soon emerge. Al

Mughirah tried in vain to convince 'Umar of the painful fact. 'Umar, however, continued to believe firmly that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) did not die. When al Mughirah insisted, 'Umar said to him in anger, "You lie." The two went to the mosque together while 'Umar was proclaiming at the top of his voice, "Some hypocrites are pretending that the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) has died. By Allah I swear that he did not die: that he has gone to join his Lord, just as Moses went before. Moses absented himself from his people fourteen consecutive nights and returned to them after they had declared him dead. By Allah, the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) will return just as Moses returned. Any man who dares to perpetrate a false rumor such as Muhammad's death (P.B.U.H) shall have his arms and legs cut off by this hand."

At the mosque, the Muslims heard these proclamations from 'Umar they were shocked and stupefied. If Muhammad (P.B.U.B) truly died, woe unto all those who saw him and heard him, who believed in him and in the Allah Who sent him a conveyor of true guidance and religion. Their bereavement would be so great that their hearts and minds would break asunder. If, on the other hand, it were true that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had not died but had gone to join his Lord, as 'Umar claimed, that was reason for an even greater shock. The Muslims should then await his return which, like that of Moses, would be all the more reason for wonder. The Muslim crowds sat around 'Umar and listened to him, inclined as they were to agree with him that the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) did not die. At any rate, they could not associate death with the man whom they had beheld in person only a few hours before and whose clear and resonant voice they had heard pray and invoke Allah's mercy and blessing. Moreover, they could not convince themselves that the friend whom Allah had chosen for the conveyance of His divine message, to whom all the Arabs had submitted, and to whom Chosroes and Heraclius were also soon to submit, could possibly die. They could not believe that a man could die who had shown

such power as had shaken the world for twenty consecutive years and had produced the greatest spiritual storm of history. The women, however, were still beating their faces and crying at Muhammad's house (P.B.U.H), a sure sign that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had really died. Yet, here in the mosque, 'Umar was still proclaiming that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had not died; and that he had gone to join his Lord as Moses had done; that those who spoke of Muhammad's death (P.B.U.H) were hypocrites who would suffer the cutting of their arms and necks by Muhammad (P.B.U.H) upon his return. What would the Muslims believe? As they recovered from their severe shock, hope began to stir within them in consequence of 'Umar's claim that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was to return, and soon they almost believed their own wishes. Their wishful thinking had apparently painted for them the sky a beautiful blue.

Enter Abu Bakr

As they wavered between believing 'Umar or the indubitable meaning of the women's crying, Abu Bakr heard the news and returned from al Sunh. He looked through the door of the mosque and saw the Muslims being addressed by 'Umar, but he did not tarry there, he went straight to the quarters of 'A'ishah and asked for permission to enter. He was answered that there was no need that day for permission. He entered and found the Prophet (P.B.U.H) laid down in a corner and covered with a striped cloth. He approached, uncovered the face and kissed it, saying, "How wholesome you are, whether alive or dead !" He then held the Prophet's head (P.B.U.H) in his hands and looked closely at the face which showed no sign whatever of death's attack. Laying it down again, he said, "What would I not have sacrificed for you! The one death which Allah has decreed for you, as for any other man, to taste, you have now tasted.

Henceforth, no death shall ever befall you." He covered the head with the striped cloth and went straight to the mosque where Umar was still proclaiming loudly that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had not died. The crowds made a way for him to the front, and as he came close to 'Umar he said to him:

"Softly, O 'Umar! Keep silent !" But 'Umar would not stop talking and continued repeating the same claim. Abu Bakr rose and made a sign to the people that he wished to address them. No one could have dared impose himself upon the congregation in such manner except Abu Bakr, for he was the ever trustworthy friend of the Prophet (P.B.U.H), whom Muhammad (P.B.U.H) would have chosen from among all men. Hence, it was natural that the people hastened to respond to his call and move away from 'Umar.

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) is Truly Dead

After praising and thanking Allah, Abu Bakr delivered the following brief address: "O Men, if you have been worshipping Muhammad, then know that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) is dead. But if you have been worshipping Allah, then know that Allah is living and never dies." He then recited the Qur'ānic verse,

﴿ وَمَا مُحَمَّدٌ إِلَّا رَسُولٌ قَدْ خَلَتْ مِن قَبْلِهِ ٱلرُّسُلُ ۚ أَفَإِيْن مَّاتَ أَوْ قُتِلَ ٱنقَلَبْتُمْ عَلَىٰٓ أَعْقَـٰبِكُمْ ۚ وَمَن يَنقَلِبْ عَلَىٰ عَقِبَيْهِ فَلَن يَضُرَّ ٱللَّهَ شَيْـًٔا ۗ وَسَيَجْزِى ٱللَّهُ ٱلشَّـٰكِرِينَ ﴿١٤٤﴾ ﴾ سورة آل عمران آية ١٤٤

(Muhammad is no more than a Messenger: many were the Messengers that passed away before him. If he died or were slain, will you then turn back on your heels? If any did

turn back on his heels, not the least harm will he do to Allah; but Allah (on the other hand) will swiftly reward those who (serve Him) with gratitude.) (Al-Imran: 144)

Realizing that the people were withdrawing from him and going to Abu Bakr, 'Umar fell silent and listened to Abū Bakr's speech. Upon hearing Abu Bakr recite the Qur'ānic verse, 'Umar fell to the ground. The certainty that the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) was truly dead shattered him. Beguiled by 'Umar's speech, the people listened to Abū Bakr's statement and to the Qur'ānic verse as if it was given to them for the first time. They had forgotten that there was any such Revelation. Abū Bakr's stark words dissipated all doubt and uncertainty. His Qur'ānic quotation reassured the Muslims that their holding fast to Allah Who never dies would more than compensate for Muhammad's passing (P.B.U.H).

Further Thoughts on Muhammad's Death (P.B.U.H)

Did 'Umar exaggerate when he convinced himself that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had not died, when he tried to cause the people to believe likewise? The answer must be in the negative. In like vein, men of science tell us that the sun will continue to rise in the morning until a certain day when it will explode and disappear. Does anyone of us accept such a claim without entertaining a doubt as to its validity and truth? Does not everyone of us ask himself, "How could the sun explode, disappear, and go away, the sun by whose light and warmth everything in the world lives? How could it explode and disappear and the world continue thereafter even for one day?" And yet, was the light of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) any less brilliant than that of the sun or his warmth and power any less strong than those of the sun? The sun is source of much good. But was not

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) the source of as much and equal good? The sun stands in communion with all beings. But was not the soul of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) equally in communion with all being? Does not his blessed memory still fill the whole universe with its grace and beauty? No wonder then that 'Umar was not convinced that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) could have died, and in truth, in one sense Muhammad (P.B.U.H) did not die and will not die.

Having seen him that morning when he went to the mosque and, like all other Muslims, having thought that the Prophet (P.B.U.H) had recovered his health, Usāmah ibn Zayd returned to al Jurf with those of his colleagues who had accompanied him to Madinah in search of reassuring news. He ordered the army to prepare to march to al Sham; but before the army proceeded forth, it heard the news of the Prophet's death (P.B.U.H). Usāmah ordered the army to return to Madinah. He hung his command flag on the door of 'A'ishah's quarters and decided to wait until the Muslims recovered from their shock.

At Banū Sā'idah's Court

In fact, the Muslims were wondering which step to take. After hearing Abu Bakr and knowing for certain that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had died, they dispersed. Some of the al Ansār gathered around Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah in the courtyard of Banū Sā'idah. 'Ali ibn Abū Talib, al Zubayr ibn al 'Awwām, and Talhah ibn 'Ubaydullah gathered in the house of Fātimah; and al Muhājirūn, together with the Usayd ibn Hudayr as well as Banū 'Abd al Ashhal, gathered around Abu Bakr. Soon a man came to Abu Bakr and 'Umar to inform them that al Ansār were gathering around Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah. The informant added that the two leaders should go out and reorganize Muslim leadership before the division of the Muslim community got any worse.

Since the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) was still laid out in his house and unburied, it was surely unbecoming that the Muslims begin to divide among themselves. 'Umar pleaded with Abū Bakr to go with him immediately to al Ansār and see what they were doing. On the way thither, they were met by two upright and trustworthy Ansār men who, when questioned, remarked that al Ansār were contemplating separatist ideas. When the two Ansār men questioned Abū Bakr and 'Umar in turn and learned from them that they were going to al Ansār's gathering, they advised them not to go but to try to settle the Muhājirun's own affairs. 'Umar was determined to go and Abū Bakr was not difficult to persuade on this point. They came to the courtyard of Banū Sā'idah and found that al Ansār had gathered around a man wrapped up in a blanket. 'Umar ibn al Khattab asked who the man was, and he was told that that was Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah suffering from a serious sickness. 'Umar and Abu Bakr, joined at this moment by a number of Muhājirūn, took their seats in the assembly. Soon, a speaker rose and addressed al Ansār in the following words after praising Allah and thanking Him: "We are al ***Ansār—i.e.,*** the helpers of Allah and the army of Islam. You, the Muhājirūn, are only a brigade in the army. Nonetheless, a group of you have gone to the extreme of seeking to deprive us of our natural leadership and to deny us our rights."

Actually, this complaint had always been on al Ansār's lips, even during the Prophet's lifetime (P.B.U.H). When 'Umar heard it being voiced again, he could hardly restrain himself. Indeed, he was ready to put an end to this situation once and for all by the sword, if needed. Fearing that harsh treatment might aggravate rather than improve matters, Abū Bakr held 'Umar back and asked him to act gently. He then turned to al Ansār, saying: "O men, we, the Muhājirūn, were the first men to convert to Islam. We enjoy the noblest lineage and descendence. We are the most reputable and the best esteemed as well as the most numerous of any group in Arabia. Furthermore, we are the

closest blood relatives of the Prophet (P.B.U.H). The Qur'ān itself has given us preference. For it is Allah —May He be praised and blessed— Who said, 'First and foremost were al Muhājirūn, then al Ansār, and then those who have followed these two groups in virtue and righteousness.' We were the first to emigrate for the sake of ALlah, and you are literally 'al Ansār', ***i.e.,*** the helpers. However, you are our brethren in religion, our partners in the fortunes of war, and our helpers against the enemy. All the good that you have claimed is truly yours, for you are the most worthy people of mankind. But the Arabs do not and will not recognize any sovereignty unless it belongs to the tribe of Quraysh. The princes shall be from among us, whereas your group will furnish the viziers." At this, a member of al Ansār became furious and said: "Rather am I, the experienced warrior! On my arm every verdict shall rest. And my verdict is that the people of Quraysh may have their prince as long as we, too, may have our own." Abu Bakr repeated his proposition that the princes of the Muslims must be of the Quraysh whereas their vizers must be of al Ansār. Taking the hand of 'Umar ibn al Khattāb as well as that of Abu 'Ubaydah ibn al Jarrāh, who were sitting on either side of him, Abū Bakr said, "Either one of these two men is acceptable to us as leader of the Muslim community. Choose whomsoever you please."

Nomination of Abū Bakr to the Caliphate

At that moment, all the men present began to talk at the same time, and the meeting itself was on the verge of disintegration. With his usual clear and loud voice, 'Umar said: "O Abu Bakr, stretch forth your hand and I will give you my oath of fealty. Did not the Prophet (P.B.U.H) himself command you to lead the Muslims in prayer? You, therefore, are his successor. We elect you to this position. In electing you, we are electing the best of

all those whom the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) loved and trusted." 'Umar's words touched the hearts of the Muslims present, as they truly expressed the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) will up to and including the last day of his life. On that day they had witnessed his insistence that Abū Bakr lead the prayer even in his presence. Thus, the difference between al Muhājirun and al Ansär was dissolved, and members of both camps came forward to give their oath of fealty.

Abū Bakr's Election

On the following day, as Abu Bakr took his place at the pulpit of the mosque, 'Umar ibn al Khattāb rose before the congregation and said, after offering due praise to Allah: "Yesterday, I presented to you a novel idea. I drew it neither from the Book of Allah, nor from any memory I have of the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H). It just occurred to me that the Prophet of Allah would continue to lead us in this world forever and that he would survive us all. But now I know better. Allah has left us His Holy Book, the Repository of His Prophet's guidance (P.B.U.H). If we hold closely to it, Allah will surely guide us to the same felicity to which he guided His Prophet (P.B.U.H). Allah has consolidated you together under the leadership of the best man among you, of the companion of the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) who was blessed by God with the honor of the Prophet's company (P.B.U.H) in the cave when the Makkans were following in close pursuit. Rise and give him your' oath of fealty." All the men rose and pledged their loyalty to Abū Bakr. That was the public ***bay'ah,*** following the private ***bay'ah*** in the courtyard of Banū Sā'idah.

Inaugural Speech of the First "Rāshidūn" Caliph

Thereafter, Abū Bakr rose and delivered a speech which may be regarded as one of the most illustrious embodiments of wisdom and sound judgment. After thanking Allah and praising Him, Abu Bakr said:

"O Men! Here I have been assigned the job of being a ruler over you while I am not the best among you. If I do well in my job, help me. If I do wrong, redress me. Truth-fulness is fidelity, and lying is treason. The weak shall be strong in my eyes until I restore to them their lost rights, and the strong shall be weak in my eye until I have restored the rights of the weak from them. No people give up fighting for the cause of Allah but Allah inflicts upon them abject subjection; and no people give themselves to lewdness but Allah envelops them with misery. Obey me as long as I obey Allah and His Prophet (P.B,.U.H). But if I disobey Allah's command or His Prophet's (P.B.U.H), then no obedience is incumbent upon you. Rise to your prayer, that Allah may bless you."

The Quest for a Burial Site

Throughout the Muslims' disputing of the question of succession at the courtyard of Banū Sā'idah and in the mosque, the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) remains were lying on his bed surrounded by his next of kin. After the election of Abu Bakr, the people came to the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) house to prepare for his funeral and burial. There was disagreement as to where the Prophet (P.B.U.H) was to be buried. Some Muhajirun advised that he ought to be buried in Makkah, his native town, in the proximity of his own relatives. Others advised that he ought to be buried in Jerusalem where the Prophets were buried before

him. The latter was certainly a baffling view considering that Jerusalem was in the hands of the Byzantines, and the relations between them and the Muslims were most hostile, especially since the Mu'tah and Tabūk campaigns. Indeed, an army which the Prophet (P.B.U.H) himself had mobilized and placed under the leadership of Usāmah was supposed to fight them and avenge the Muslim defeat in those campaigns. At any rate, the proposals to bury the remains in Makkah or in Jerusalem were both rejected. The Muslims resolved to bury him in Madinah, the city which gave him shelter and assistance and which was the first one to raise the banner of Islam. Once this decision was made, they proceeded to look for a proper location for burial. Some advocated burial in the mosque where he used to address the people, preach the faith, and lead them in prayer. They thought that the most appropriate place was either the very spot of ground where the pulpit stood or the spot next to it. This opinion, however, did not meet with approval. 'A'ishah had related that in his last days, whenever his pain increased, the Prophet (P.B.U.H) used to uncover his face to curse such people as had taken the grave of their prophets as places of worship. Abū Bakr solved the issue when he proclaimed that he had heard the Prophet (P.B.U.H) say that prophets should be buried wherever they die. This opinion carried the day.

Preparing the Body for Burial

Washing the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) body before burial was performed by his next of kin, by 'Ali ibn Abu Talib, al 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al Muttalib and his two sons, al Fadl and Qutham, as well as by Usāmah ibn Zayd. Usāmah ibn Zayd and Shuqran, the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) client, poured the water while 'Ali washed the body, covered as it was by Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) nightgown. It was decided that the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) body

should not, under any circumstance whatever, be fully exposed. As they performed their washing, contrary to what is usual in such cases, the body emitted beautiful smells, so that 'Ali said continually: "By Allah, what would I give for you! How sweet you are and how wholesome you are, both alive and dead !" Some western Orientalists sought to explain this fair scent emitted from the body of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) by calling it the result of the perfume which he used so lavishly, remembering that he once declared it one of the good things he truly loved in this world. When the washing was completed, the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) body was wrapped in three shrouds: two made in Suhar and the third in Hibarah in Yaman. When this operation was completed, the body was left where it was and the doors were flung open for the Muslims to enter from the mosque, to take a last look at their Prophet (P.B.U.H), and to pray for him. Undoubtedly, they emerged deeply moved and conscious of their terrible bereavement.

The Funeral Prayer

The room was practically full when Abu Bakr and 'Umar entered the room and joined the Muslims in a funerary prayer for the Prophet (P.B.U.H). The prayer was performed without. a leader. When it was over, Abu Bakr began to pray aloud, saying: "Peace, mercy, and blessings of Allah be upon you, O Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H). We witness that the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) and His apostle conveyed the message entrusted to him by his Lord and that he exerted himself and fought in His cause until Allah gave victory to His religion. We equally witness that the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) and His apostle (P.B.U.H) fully performed his promise and that he commanded us to worship none but Allah alone who has no associates." At the end of every phrase, the Muslims responded together, "Amen, Amen." When

this prayer was complete, the men left and the women and children took turns taking a last look at the Prophet (P.B.U.H). One and all, every man, woman and child, emerged from that room torn with sorrow and crushed by a sense of bereavement for the loss of the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H), the Seal of His apostles (P.B.U.H) They were full of apprehension that some calamity might befall the religion of Allah in the future.

A Grace Moment of History

No man can today reconstruct this thirteen-centuries-old scene in his imagination without being filled with awe and reverence. The anguishing view of this body laid down in a corner of the room which was to become a grave the following day and which until the day before reverberated with Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) vitality, mercy, and light, filled the hearts of the faithful mourners with apprehension. It could not have been otherwise. For, there lay the man who had called men to truth, to the path of righteousness and had struck for them the highest example of goodness, mercy, courage, chastity, purity, and justice. As the crowds of Muslims passed by his bier despondent, disheartened, and dispirited, every man, woman, and child among them saw in the body that lay motionless before him his own father, brother, friend, trustworthy companion, Prophet (P.B.U.H), and Apostle of Allah (P.B.U.H). To recall that hour is surely to reconstruct a pathetic scene. Even as he writes about it, this author is seized by the grip of its terror and can hardly overcome the consequent anguish.

Confusion of the Men of Little Faith

It was natural for the Muslims to be apprehensive of the

future. Indeed, as soon as the news of the Prophet's death (P.B.U.H) spread in Madinah and reached the Arab tribes in the surrounding area, Jews and Christians sprang to their feet, hypocrisy took a new lease on life, and the faith of many weak Arabs fell into confusion. The Makkans sought to abjure Islam, and they did so to the extent of instilling fear in 'Attāb ibn Asid, their governor appointed by the Prophet (P.B.U.H) to rule them. Suhayl ibn 'Amr, following the news of the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) death, stood up in their midst and said: "The Prophet's (P.B.U.H) death shall increase the power of Islam and strengthen it. Whoever attacks us or abjures our cause, we shall strike with the sword. O People of Makkah! you were the last to enter Islam. Do not, therefore, be the first to desert it. Have faith that Allah will bring you final victory just as the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) has promised you." Only then did the Makkans change their minds.

The Prophet's (P.B.U.H)Burial

The Arabs knew two ways of digging graves. The Makkans made their graves flat at the bottom while the Madinese made them curved. Abū 'Ubaydah ibn al Jarrāh was the gravedigger for the Makkans, and Abū Talhah Zayd ibn Sahl was gravedigger for the Madinese. The Prophet's (P.B.U.H) relatives could not choose between them. The Prophet's (P.B.U.H) uncle, al 'Abbas, sent two men to call the two gravediggers for a consultation. Only one was found and could respond to the call, and that was Abū Talhah, the Madinese. He therefore was commissioned to dig a grave for the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) as he knew best. When evening came and the Muslims had taken leave of the body of their Prophet (P.B.U.H), Muhammad's relatives (P.B.U.H) prepared for the burial. They waited until a quarter or a third of the night had passed before proceeding with the burial. In the grave, they spread out a red mantle that once

belonged to the Prophet (P.B.U.H), and the men who had washed the body lowered it to its last repose. They built over it a bridge with bricks and then covered the grave with sand. 'A'ishah said: "We did not learn of the burial of the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) until midnight or later"; and so did Fātimah report. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) was buried on Tuesday night, 14th of Rabi' I, two days after his death, in the year 10 A.H.

'A'ishah and the Grave Room

'A'ishah lived thereafter in her quarters, next door to the Prophet's grave (P.B.U.H), contented with her proximity to this holy precinct. When Abū Bakr died, he was buried in the immediate vicinity of the Prophet's grave (P.B.U.H), as was 'Umar ibn al Khattāb thereafter. It is related that 'A'ishah used to visit the grave room without veil until 'Umar was buried therein, ***i.e.,*** during the time it contained only the grave of her father and husband. But after 'Umar's burial, she entered the room only when fully veiled.

Expediting Usāmah's Army on Its March

As soon as the burial of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) was completed, Abū Bakr commanded that the army of Usāmah begin its march on al Sham in execution of the commandment the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) had issued in his last days. Some Muslims objected to this measure just as they had during the sickness of Muhammad (P.B.U.H). 'Umar joined the ranks of these objectors on the grounds that the Muslim forces ought not to be dispersed in this grave hour. Abū Bakr, however, did not hesitate to follow the commandment left unfulfilled by the Prophet (P.B.U.H) at his death. He refused to give credit to those

who counseled that an older and more experienced general in war than Usāmah be appointed to lead that army. Al Jurf remained the rallying place for the army, and Usamah remained its leading general. Abu Bakr went out in person to see the army off on its march. It was there that Abu Bakr asked Usāmah to absolve 'Umar ibn al Khattab from his duty to go forth in the army so that he might remain in Madinah in close proximity to Abū Bakr who needed his advice in his first days of administration. Twenty days after the army began its march northward, the Muslims launched their attack against al Balqa' and avenged the Muslims' setback in Mu'tah where Usamah's father fell under Byzantine arms. The war cry in that campaign was "O Victor! Give death to the enemy !" Thus Abu Bakr and Usamah fulfilled the commandment of the Prophet (P.B.U.H), and the army returned to Madinah victorious. Usāmah was at its head, riding the very horse on which his father died at the Battle of Mu'tah, and carrying high the banner which the Prophet of Allah (P.B.U.H) had entrusted to him in person.

Prophets Leave No Inheritance

After the death of the Prophet (P.B.U.H), his daughter Fātimah asked Abū Bakr to return to her the land the Prophet (P.B.U.H) kept for himself at Fadak and Khaybar. Abū Bakr. however, answered her by quoting her father's words: "We, the Prophets, do not leave any inheritance for anyone. Whatever we do leave shall be given out in charity." Continuing with his own words, Abū Bakr said:

"However, if it was the case that your father had made a grant to you of this property, then I shall certainly honor your word to this effect and fulfill for you his commandment." At this, Fātimah answered that her father had not made any such grant to her at all, but that Umm Ayman had informed her that

that might have been Muhammad's purpose (P.B.U.H). Abū Bakr therefore resolved that the lands of Fadak and Khaybar should be kept by the public treasury of the Muslims as state domain.

Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) Great Spiritual Legacy

Thus Muhammad (P.B.U.H) left this world just as he had entered, without material shackles. His only inheritance left to mankind was the religion of truth and goodness. He had paved the ground and laid the foundation for the great civilization of Islam which had covered the world in the past and would cover the world in the future. It was a civilization in which ***tawhid,*** or the unitization of Allah, was the cornerstone; and an order in which the word of Allah and His commandments are always uppermost, while those of unfaith are nethermost. It was a civilization purged absolutely clean of all paganism and of all idolatrous forms and expressions, a civilization in which men were called upon to cooperate with one another for the good and moral felicity of all men, not for the benefit of any group or people. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) left to this world the Book of Allah, a guidance and mercy to mankind, while the memory of his own life gave the highest and noblest example for man's emulation. One of the last sermons which the Prophet (P.B.U.H) delivered to the people during his illness contained the following words: "O Men! If I have lashed the back of anyone, let him come forward and lash my back in return. If I have insulted anyone, let him come forth and take satisfaction of me. If I have dispossessed anyone of any wealth, let him come forth and seize his wealth from me. If there be any such men as these, let them come forth without fear of retaliation or hatred, for neither of these become of me." Only one man came forth to make a claim, that Muhammad (P.B.U.H) owed him three dirhams; he was paid

in full by Muhammad (P.B.U.H) on his deathbed. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) left this world an inheritance of a great spiritual legacy whose light continues to illumine' the world and will continue to illumine the world until Allah completely fulfills His promise and gives victory to His religion over all the religions despite all unbelievers. May Allah's peace and blessing be upon Muhammad!

Conclusion in Two Essays

I. Islamic CIVILIZATION AS DEPICTED IN THE QUR'ĀN

Islamic and Western Civilizations

Muhammad (P.B.U.H) left a great spiritual legacy which enveloped the world in its light and guided man's civilization throughout many centuries, a legacy which will envelop the world again and guide man's civilization once more until the light of Allah has filled the universe. The legacy of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had such great effect in the past and will have great or greater effect in the future precisely because Muhammad (P.B.U.H) established the religion of truth and laid the foundation of the only civilization which guarantees the happiness and felicity of man. The religion which Muhammad (P.B.U.H) conveyed and the civilization which he established at his Lord's command for the benefit of mankind are inseparable from each other. Islamic civilization has been raised on a foundation of science and rationalism, and that is the same foundation on which western civilization of today is based. Moreover, Islam as a religion has based itself on personalist thinking and intentional logic. The relation between religion and its propositions on the one hand, and civilization and its

foundation on the other, is binding and firm. Islam links metaphysical thought and personal feelings with the rules of logic and the precepts of science, with a bond that all Muslims must discover and grasp if they are to remain Muslims. From this aspect, the civilization of Islam is radically different from that of western civilization which dominates the world today. The two are different in their description of life as well as the foundation on which they base such description. The difference between the two civilizations is so essential that they have developed in ways which are radically contradictory to each other.

The West and the Struggle between Church and State

The difference is due to a number of historical causes to which we have alluded in the prefaces to the first and second editions of this work. In western Christendom, the continuing struggle between the religious and secular powers, or—to use the contemporary idiom—between church and state, led to their separation and to the establishment of the state upon the denial of the power of the church. The struggle to which this will to power led has left deep effects upon the whole of western thought. The first of these effects was the separation of human feeling and reasoning from the logic of absolute reason and the findings of positive science based on sensory observation and evidence.

The Economic System as Foundation of Western Civilization

The victory of materialist thinking was largely due to the establishment of western civilization primarily upon an economic foundation. This situation led to the rise in the West of

a number of worldviews which sought to place everything in the life of man and the world at the mercy of economic forces. Many an author in the West sought to explain the whole history of mankind—religious, esthetic, philosophic or scientific—in terms of the waves of progress or retrogression which constitute the economic history of the various peoples. Not only has this thinking pervaded historiography; it has even reached philosophy. A number of western philosophies have sought to found the laws and principles of morality on bases of pragmatism and utilitarianism. As a result of this fixation of thought in the West, all these theories, despite their perspicacity and originality, have been limited in scope to the realm of material benefits. In other words, all the laws of morality were based on a material foundation and in satisfaction of what was regarded as a necessary consequence of scientific research and evidence. As for the spiritual aspect, western civilization regarded it as purely individual, rationally incapable of being the object of any group consideration. From this followed the absolute freedom of belief which the West has sanctified. The West has honored the freedom of belief far more than it has the freedom of morals; and it has honored the freedom of morals far more than the freedom of economic activity. The latter it has tied hand and foot by public laws, and commanded that every western state and army prevent any violation of economic laws with all the power and coercive means at its disposal.

Incapacity of Western Civilization to Bring Happiness to Man

In this author's opinion, a civilization which founds itself upon economic activity and erects its moral system on that activity as a base, and yet gives no weight in public life to faith, is incapable of achieving for mankind the happiness that men

seek. Indeed, a civilization which so regards human life is bound to bring upon mankind all the calamities which have befallen our world in the recent centuries. Under its aegis, any attempt to prevent war and to establish universal peace will prove futile and vain. As long as man's relation to man is based upon the loaf of bread and the struggle which man wages against his fellows in order to get it for himself, a struggle the success of which depends upon the animal power which each one of us can marshal for the purpose, it is indubitable that every man will watch for the best occasion to cheat his fellow out of his loaf of bread. Every man will regard his fellow man as his enemy rather than his brother; and personal morality will have nothing but the animal in us on which to stand. This is true though man's animality may remain hidden until need uncovers it, for only utility is consonant with such a moral foundation. Charity, altruism, love, brotherhood—in short, all the principles of nobler morality and the values of higher humanity—will forever pass over a consciousness disciplined by such a civilization just as water passes off the back of a duck.

The actualities of the contemporary world furnish empirical evidence for my claim. Competition and struggle are the first principles of the economic system and are the most salient characteristics of western civilization. This is the case regardless of whether the system is individualistic or socialistic. In the former, the worker competes with his fellow worker, the capitalist with his fellow capitalist, and worker and capitalist are committed enemies of each other. The devotees of this view regard struggle and competition as the forces of man's good and progress. They regard these forces as the source of motivation for the pursuit of perfection and the division of labor, as well as for a just criterion for the distribution of wealth. The socialist system, on the other hand, sees in the struggle between the classes a means to destroy those classes and bring the destiny of society under control of the workers. This system is regarded by

socialism as the necessary logic of nature. But as long as struggle and competition for wealth are the essence of life, and as long as class struggle is the law of nature, then it is equally the law of nature that the nations of the world struggle and prey upon one another in order to realize their purposes. Nationalism thus arose as a necessary consequence to this economic anthropology. But if it is natural for the nations to struggle and compete with one another for wealth, and if colonialism is a natural consequence of this necessary system, how are wars ever to be avoided and how is peace ever to be achieved? In this Christian twentieth century we have witnessed sufficient evidence to convince anyone that a world founded upon such a civilization may dream of, but never realize, peace. Because of it, peace will forever be a false mirage and an impossible desideratum.

The Groundwork of Islamic Civilization

Unlike western civilization, the civilization of Islam is built upon a spiritual base in which man is first and foremost called upon to recognize ultimate reality and to realize his position in the world with regard to that reality. Whenever man's consciousness of this relation reaches the point of certainty and conviction, that conviction will demand of him ever to discipline himself, to cleanse his soul, and to nourish his heart as well as his mind with the sublime principles of magnanimity, contentment, brotherhood, love, charity, and piety. On the basis of such principles man will then organize his economic life. Such progression is the foundation of Islamic civilization as the Revelation of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) conceived it. It is first and foremost a spiritual civilization. In it, the spiritual order constitutes the groundwork of the system of education, of personal and social morality. The principles constituting the moral order in turn constitute the groundwork of the economic

system. It is therefore not permissible in this civilization that any moral principle be sacrificed for the sake of the economic system.

In this author's opinion, it is this conception peculiar to Islamic civilization that is capable of bringing mankind to a sure realization of happiness and felicity. Should it ever become firmly established in the minds of men, and should it come to dominate this world as western civilization has come to dominate it today, mankind will lead a different life. The current ideologies will be washed away, and nobler moral principles will take over the solution of the chronic crises of the present world. In both East and West, men have been trying to find solutions to these crises without anyone's realizing—not excluding the Muslims themselves—that Islam offers to them certain and guaranteed solutions. The western people are today groping for a new spiritual seriousness which might save them from the paganism in which they have allowed themselves to fall and from the worship of wealth which has been at the root of their misery and interminable wars. The western peoples are seeking to discover this new spiritual seriousness in the religions of India and the Far East, when it has been right here close to them all the time, established once and for all, and clearly elaborated in the Qur'ān, as well as given its highest examplification in the life and sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H).

It is not my intention to predict here the role of Islamic civilization or to analyze its system. Such work would by itself occupy a volume of this size or even larger. But I do think it imperative to characterize that civilization in general now that I have pointed to the spiritual basis on which it stands. Therefore, I hope to give an idea of the nature of Muhammad's call (P.B.U.H) and thereby to pave the road for further and more complete research and study.

No Competition between Church and State in Islam

Before I do this, however, it behooves me to point to the fact that the history of Islam has been free of any struggle between religious and secular authorities, that is, between church and state. This fact has protected Islamic history from the effects that struggle has left upon western thought. This salutory influence upon Islam and upon its history and thought is primarily due to the fact that it has never known anything called church or religious authority along the lines of Christianity. No Muslim, even if he should be a caliph, has any right to impose anything in the name of Islam. He can neither forgive nor punish any violation of such commandments imposed in the name of religion. Moreover, no Muslim may, even if he should be a caliph, impose upon the people anything other than that which Allah imposed in His Book. Indeed, in front of Allah, all Muslims are equal; none may be distinguished from the others except in virtue and piety. No ruler in Islam is entitled to the Muslim's obedience in a matter involving a violation of a Divine commandment, or of that which has not been expressly commanded by Allah. We should recall here the inaugural speech of Abū Bakr following his election to the caliphate: "Obey me as long as I obey Allah and His Prophet (P.B.U.H). But if I disobey Allah's command or His Prophet's (P.B.U.H), then no obedience is incumbent upon you." Despite all the crass exercises of the will to political power and all the civil wars and rebellions which the history of the Islamic state has witnessed, the Muslims have remained true to this great personal freedom which their religion had established for them. Theirs has always been a freedom which assigned to reason the role of judge in everything, whether in religion or in the matter of conviction and faith itself. The Muslims have held strongly to this freedom even in the face of those kings and princes who claimed that they were the lieutenants of Allah on earth, not of His Prophet, and who

wielded in their hands the keys of life and death. Witness the turbulent events during the reign of al Ma'mūn when the issue was whether or not the Qur'ān was created. The caliph believed one thing, but the Muslims differed from him despite the certainty of the punishment and wrath that awaited them.

Islam Makes Reason the Final Judge

Islam made reason the judge in everything, whether in religion or in conviction and faith itself. Allah said:

﴿ وَمَثَلُ ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُواْ كَمَثَلِ ٱلَّذِى يَنْعِقُ بِمَا لَا يَسْمَعُ إِلَّا دُعَآءً وَنِدَآءً ۚ صُمٌّۢ بُكْمٌ عُمْىٌ فَهُمْ لَا يَعْقِلُونَ ﴿١٧١﴾ ﴾ سورة البقرة آية ١٧١

(The parable of those who reject Faith is as if one were to shout like a goat-herd, to things that listen to nothing but calls and cries: deaf, dumb, and blind, they are void of wisdom.) (Al-Baqarah: 171)

Commenting on this verse, Shaykh Mohammad 'Abduh wrote: "This verse clearly asserts that ***taqlid*** without reason or guidance is the prerogative of the disbelievers, that man is not a convinced Muslim unless he has reasoned out his religion, known it in person, and become personally convinced of its truth and validity. Whoever, therefore, has been brought up so as to acquiesce without reason and to act without knowledge and wisdom—even though he may be virtuous—is not a convinced Muslim. Religious conviction does not have for its purpose the subjugation of man to the good as if he were an animal. Rather, its purpose is that man may, by the use of reason and the pursuit of knowledge, rise to the level where he will do the good

because he fully knows that it is in itself good and acceptable to Allah, and avoid the evil because he fully knows its undesirable consequence and harm."

The foregoing claims of Shaykh Mohammad 'Abduh given in exegesis of this verse are all to be found in the' Qur'ān itself in a number of other verses. The Qur'ān has called upon men to look into the universe and to discover its construction and structure. It commanded men to do so in the conviction that their investigation of the structure of the universe would lead them to the discovery of Allah as well as of His unicity—May He be adored! Allah—to Whom is the praise—says:

﴿ إِنَّ فِي خَلْقِ ٱلسَّمَٰوَٰتِ وَٱلْأَرْضِ وَٱخْتِلَٰفِ ٱلَّيْلِ وَٱلنَّهَارِ وَٱلْفُلْكِ ٱلَّتِى تَجْرِى فِى ٱلْبَحْرِ بِمَا يَنفَعُ ٱلنَّاسَ وَمَآ أَنزَلَ ٱللَّهُ مِنَ ٱلسَّمَآءِ مِن مَّآءٍ فَأَحْيَا بِهِ ٱلْأَرْضَ بَعْدَ مَوْتِهَا وَبَثَّ فِيهَا مِن كُلِّ دَآبَّةٍ وَتَصْرِيفِ ٱلرِّيَٰحِ وَٱلسَّحَابِ ٱلْمُسَخَّرِ بَيْنَ ٱلسَّمَآءِ وَٱلْأَرْضِ لَأَيَٰتٍ لِّقَوْمٍ يَعْقِلُونَ ﴿١٦٤﴾ ﴾ سورة البقرة آية ١٦٤

(Behold! In the creation of the heavens and the earth: in the alternation of the Night and the Day: in the sailing of the ships through the Ocean for the profit of mankind: in the rain which Allah sends down from the skies, and the life which He gives there-with to an earth that is dead: in the beasts of all kinds that He scatters through the earth: in the change of the winds and the clouds which they trail like their slaves between the sky and the earth, (here) indeed are Signs for a people that are wise.) (Al-Baqarah: 164)

Further, Allah says:

﴿ وَءَايَةٌ لَّهُمُ ٱلْأَرْضُ ٱلْمَيْتَةُ أَحْيَيْنَـٰهَا وَأَخْرَجْنَا مِنْهَا حَبًّا فَمِنْهُ
يَأْكُلُونَ ﴿٣٣﴾ وَجَعَلْنَا فِيهَا جَنَّـٰتٍ مِّن نَّخِيلٍ وَأَعْنَـٰبٍ وَفَجَّرْنَا فِيهَا
مِنَ ٱلْعُيُونِ ﴿٣٤﴾ لِيَأْكُلُوا۟ مِن ثَمَرِهِۦ وَمَا عَمِلَتْهُ أَيْدِيهِمْ ۖ أَفَلَا
يَشْكُرُونَ ﴿٣٥﴾ سُبْحَـٰنَ ٱلَّذِى خَلَقَ ٱلْأَزْوَٰجَ كُلَّهَا مِمَّا تُنۢبِتُ
ٱلْأَرْضُ وَمِنْ أَنفُسِهِمْ وَمِمَّا لَا يَعْلَمُونَ ﴿٣٦﴾ وَءَايَةٌ لَّهُمُ ٱلَّيْلُ نَسْلَخُ
مِنْهُ ٱلنَّهَارَ فَإِذَا هُم مُّظْلِمُونَ ﴿٣٧﴾ وَٱلشَّمْسُ تَجْرِى لِمُسْتَقَرٍّ لَّهَا ۚ
ذَٰلِكَ تَقْدِيرُ ٱلْعَزِيزِ ٱلْعَلِيمِ ﴿٣٨﴾ وَٱلْقَمَرَ قَدَّرْنَـٰهُ مَنَازِلَ حَتَّىٰ عَادَ
كَٱلْعُرْجُونِ ٱلْقَدِيمِ ﴿٣٩﴾ لَا ٱلشَّمْسُ يَنۢبَغِى لَهَآ أَن تُدْرِكَ ٱلْقَمَرَ وَلَا
ٱلَّيْلُ سَابِقُ ٱلنَّهَارِ ۚ وَكُلٌّ فِى فَلَكٍ يَسْبَحُونَ ﴿٤٠﴾ وَءَايَةٌ لَّهُمْ أَنَّا حَمَلْنَا
ذُرِّيَّتَهُمْ فِى ٱلْفُلْكِ ٱلْمَشْحُونِ ﴿٤١﴾ وَخَلَقْنَا لَهُم مِّن مِّثْلِهِۦ مَا يَرْكَبُونَ
﴿٤٢﴾ وَإِن نَّشَأْ نُغْرِقْهُمْ فَلَا صَرِيخَ لَهُمْ وَلَا هُمْ يُنقَذُونَ ﴿٤٣﴾ إِلَّا رَحْمَةً
مِّنَّا وَمَتَـٰعًا إِلَىٰ حِينٍ ﴿٤٤﴾ ﴾ سورة يس الآيات ٣٣-٤٤

(A Sign for them is the earth that is dead: We do give it life, and produce grain there-from, of which you do eat. And We produce therein orchards with date-palms and vines, and We cause springs to gush forth therein: That they may enjoy the fruits of this (artistry): it was not their hands that made this: will they not then give thanks? Glory

to Allah, Who created in pairs all things that the earth produces, as well as their own (human) kind and (other) things of which they have no knowledge. And a Sign for them is the Night: We withdraw there-from the Day, and behold they are plunged in darkness: And the sun runs unto a resting place for him that is the decree of (Him), the Exalted in Might, the All-Knowing. And the Moon, We have measured for her stations (to traverse) till she returns like the old (and withered) lower part of a date-stalk. It is not permitted to the Sun to catch up the Moon, nor can the Night outstrip the Day: each (just) swims along in (its own) orbit (according to law). And a Sign for them is that We bore their race (through the Flood) in the loaded Ark: And We have created for them similar (vessels) on which they ride. If it were Our Will, We could drown them: then would there be no helper (to hear their cry), nor could they be delivered Except by way of Mercy from Us, and by way of (worldly) convenience (to serve them) for a time.) (Ya-Sin: 33-44)

Indeed, the call to look into the universe to discover its laws and to arrive at the conviction that Allah is its creator is repeated a hundred times in the various ***Surahs*** of the Qur'ān. All these Qur'ānic invitations are directed to man's rational faculties in the expectation that he will consider, search for and discover the truth, so that his religious conviction might be rational and truly supported by the facts. The Qur'ān constantly warns its readers not to adopt uncritically and blindly the ideas and principles of the forefathers, but to have faith in man's personal capacity to reach the truth.

The Power of Imān

Such is the nature of ***Imān,*** or religious conviction, to which

Islam has called. It has nothing to do with blind faith. Instead, it is involved with the conviction of the enlightened mind, the instructed reason which has considered and weighed the alternatives, pondered and reconsidered the evidence on all sides, researched and rediscovered and finally reached the certainty that Allah —May He be adored—is. Surely any man who considers the evidence with both heart and reason will be guided to religious conviction. Indeed, the more closely a man looks at the evidence, the longer he contemplates and the larger his scope of investigation becomes so that his awareness considers the whole of time, space, and all the eternally changing universes which they include, the more he will be convinced of his littleness ***vis-a-vis*** the well patterned, well-ordered, and well-governed worlds, of the shortcoming of his knowledge to grasp them or to enter him into meaningful relation to them without the assistance of a power surpassing his senses and reason, the more capable he will become of defining his place within the total realm of being. All this is the precondition of his entering into relation with the universe and of his encompassing with his consciousness and vision the whole of being. This enlarged vision is the strength given by religious conviction alone.

Imān in Allah

Imān, or religious conviction, then, is a spiritual intuition by which man's consciousness is filled whenever it seeks the universe and realizes that the infinity of space and time is unreachable, and whenever it seeks to encompass all being within itself, realizing that every species in existence lives, changes, and dies in accordance with laws and patterns, and that all existence realizes the Divine pattern and fulfills the cosmic laws of its Lord and Creator. To look for Allah—May He be adored—as immanent in all existence and in contact with it, rather than as absolutely separate from it, is a futile search leading

to error rather than to truth, harming rather than blessing the investigator. Moreover, it does not add to man's knowledge. Writers and philosophers have often exhausted themselves seeking evidence for Allah's immanence without avail, while others have sought to grasp the essence of the Creator Himself—all to no purpose. Some writers and philosophers have acknowledged that the success of such searches are forever impossible.

But if our reason falls short of achieving such knowledge, that very shortcoming can be the source of a greater realization, namely, the certain religious knowledge of Allah. This certitude of ours that Allah exists, that He knows, provides for, and governs everything, that He is the Creator, the Forgiver unto Whom everything returns, can also convince us that it cannot ever be possible for us to know the nature of Allah Himself. If to this day we do not understand the nature of electricity, even though our very eyes have seen its effects, nor the nature of ether, though we grant that its waves or quanta carry sound and light, how vain it is not to accept the existence of Allah when we constantly behold His original creations and effects, or to go about denying Him until we can know His very nature! Allah is transcendentally beyond anything anyone may say in description of Him. As a matter of fact, those who try to describe Allah under one form or another are precisely those whose consciousness is incapable of rising to the level requisite for grasping that which lies beyond human life. It is they who should be accused of seeking to measure being and the Creator of being with their own relative standards gathered from their own little knowledge of being. On the other hand, those who have true knowledge and wisdom will pause at these Divine statements:

﴿ وَيَسْـَٔلُونَكَ عَنِ ٱلرُّوحِ ۖ قُلِ ٱلرُّوحُ مِنْ أَمْرِ رَبِّى وَمَآ أُوتِيتُم مِّنَ ٱلْعِلْمِ إِلَّا قَلِيلًا ﴿٨٥﴾ ﴾ سورة الإسراء آية ٨٥

(They ask you concerning the Spirit (of inspiration). Say: "The Spirit is of the command of my Lord: of knowledge it is only a little that is communicated to you, (O men!) (Al-Isra':85)

The consciousness of such men becomes filled with certitude and conviction regarding the Creator of the Spirit, the Maker of the whole universe. They do not allow themselves to become involved in futile and vain controversy.

Imān, the Basis of Islam

The Qur'ān differentiates between conversion to Islam before or after such religious certitude and conviction. Allah says, "Some Arabs of the desert claimed that they have achieved religious conviction. Say, 'You have not achieved such conviction; you have been converted to Islam and have acquiesced in it, but religious certitude and conviction have not yet found their way to your heart and consciousness.' Such Islamization is an acquiescence arising from the call of ulterior motive, desire, fear, admiration, or reverence. It is not the acceptance by a consciousness which has understood and known full well that it has reached certitude and conviction. The subject of such Islāmization has not been guided to his conviction through examination of the universe, grasping of its laws and patterns, and the movement of his thought from that knowledge to the recognition of the Creator of the universe. It is rather the acquiescence of a man in satis faction of an ignoble desire or in blind imitation of his parents or community. Thus, religious conviction and certitude have not entered into his heart despite his acquiescence to Islam.

Many such Muslims exist who seek to cheat Allah and the true Muslims, but they succeed in cheating only themselves,

little do they know. Their hearts are diseased, and their disease blinds their minds still further. Those men who convert to Islam without religious conviction but because of an ulterior motive, desire or fear, continue to have weak souls throughout their lives. Their faith remains doubtful, their commitment shaky, and their wills ever ready to submit to men upon command. On the other hand, those whose minds and hearts have reached conviction of Allah by means of investigation of the universe possess a genuine conviction which calls them to submit to Allah alone, to none other than Him. Neither do such men think of their Islam as a favor they have granted to anyone.

﴿ بَلِ ٱللَّهُ يَمُنُّ عَلَيْكُمْ أَنْ هَدَىٰكُمْ لِلْإِيمَـٰنِ إِن كُنتُمْ صَـٰدِقِينَ ﴿١٧﴾ ﴾

سورة الحجرات آية ١٧

(Nay, Allah has conferred a favour upon you that He has guided you to the Faith, if you be true and sincere.)
(Al-Hujurat: 17)

Whoever, therefore, in conviction of Allah's existence and Lordship over the universe, opens himself to determination by Him alone, has reason neither to fear nor to grieve. Such men fear neither poverty nor humilation in this world because religious certitude is the greatest wealth and the greatest glory. Glory does indeed belong to Allah and to the true believers who are contented and certain of their faith.

The soul which is happy and contented with such ***imān*** finds its fulfillment only in the search for the secrets of the world, the laws of the cosmos, and the pattern of the universe—all to the end that it may consolidate its communion with Allah. The means it employs for its search is scientific investigation, rational analysis, and consideration of all that is in creation. That

is precisely what the Qur'ān calls for and what the early Muslims practiced. That is the scientific method currently pursued in the West. The purpose of such pursuit, however, differs in Islam from western civilization. In the former, its purpose is to enable man to make the pattern of Allah in the universe the law and pattern of his own existence. In the latter, the purpose is to exploit the knowledge of cosmic laws for the material benefit of man. The foremost purpose of science in Islam is the achievement of firm and certain knowledge of Allah, a knowledge which strengthens man's conviction of Him—May He be adored—by its own comprehensiveness and certainty. Equally, it is a pursuit which seeks to achieve such better knowledge not for the individual alone but for the community as a whole. Spiritual perfection is not merely an individualistic matter, but rather the very foundation of the human community throughout the world. Islam therefore regards the pursuit of knowledge and understanding of the universe as a human duty, a duty incumbent upon all men as individuals as well as groups. Mankind must therefore seek this spiritual perfection even more conscientiously and systemically than it has sought to understand the nature of material things, and it ought to use the secrets of the material world and the laws and pattern of the universe as a means to attain spiritual perfection rather than as a means for achieving material mastery over things.

Divine Assistance to Discover the Pattern of the Universe

In order to attain this spiritual perfection, it is not sufficient to rely upon our own formal logic. Having reached the highest level possible through that logic, it is necessary to prepare our own hearts and minds for what lies beyond. This is possible by seeking Allah's assistance and by turning one's heart and soul toward the Divine Being. By worshipping Him and asking for

His assistance it is possible, once the highest levels of logic have been reached, to discover the secrets of the universe and the patterns of existence. This process is what is meant by communion with Allah, by gratitude for His blessings, and by prayer to Him for further guidance. Allah said:

﴿ وَإِذَا سَأَلَكَ عِبَادِى عَنِّى فَإِنِّى قَرِيبٌ ۖ أُجِيبُ دَعْوَةَ ٱلدَّاعِ إِذَا دَعَانِ ۖ فَلْيَسْتَجِيبُوا۟ لِى وَلْيُؤْمِنُوا۟ بِى لَعَلَّهُمْ يَرْشُدُونَ ﴿١٨٦﴾ ﴾

سورة البقرة آية ١٨٦

(When My servants ask you concerning Me, I am indeed close (to them): I respond to the prayer of every suppliant when he calls on Me: let them also, with a will, listen to My call, and believe in Me: that they may walk in the right way.)

(Al-Baqarah: 186)

Allah also said:

﴿ وَٱسْتَعِينُوا۟ بِٱلصَّبْرِ وَٱلصَّلَوٰةِ ۚ وَإِنَّهَا لَكَبِيرَةٌ إِلَّا عَلَى ٱلْخَـٰشِعِينَ ﴿٤٥﴾ ٱلَّذِينَ يَظُنُّونَ أَنَّهُم مُّلَـٰقُوا۟ رَبِّهِمْ وَأَنَّهُمْ إِلَيْهِ رَٰجِعُونَ ﴿٤٦﴾ ﴾

سورة البقرة الآيتان ٤٥-٤٦

(Nay, seek (Allah's) help with patient perseverance and prayer: it is indeed hard, except to those who are humble. Who bear in mind the certainty that they are to meet their Lord, and that they are to return to Him.)

(Al-Baqarah: 45-46)

Nature of Islamic Prayer

Prayer, then, is communion with Allah in the certitude that He exists and is receptive to a solicitation for His assistance. Its purpose is not the bodily movements of kneeling and prostration nor the verbal recitation of the Qur'ān, not the prescribed ***takbir*** and ***ta'zim*** Rather, it is meant to fill the soul with ***iman*** and the heart with reverence and recognition of Allah's holiness. Every element in the Muslim's prayer is designed to achieve this dual purpose. It is the worship of Allah for the sole sake of Allah, the recognition of Allah's face as the light of heaven and earth.

Allah said:

﴿ ۞ لَّيْسَ ٱلْبِرَّ أَن تُوَلُّوا۟ وُجُوهَكُمْ قِبَلَ ٱلْمَشْرِقِ وَٱلْمَغْرِبِ وَلَـٰكِنَّ
ٱلْبِرَّ مَنْ ءَامَنَ بِٱللَّهِ وَٱلْيَوْمِ ٱلْـَٔاخِرِ وَٱلْمَلَـٰٓئِكَةِ وَٱلْكِتَـٰبِ وَٱلنَّبِيِّـۧنَ
وَءَاتَى ٱلْمَالَ عَلَىٰ حُبِّهِۦ ذَوِى ٱلْقُرْبَىٰ وَٱلْيَتَـٰمَىٰ وَٱلْمَسَـٰكِينَ وَٱبْنَ
ٱلسَّبِيلِ وَٱلسَّآئِلِينَ وَفِى ٱلرِّقَابِ وَأَقَامَ ٱلصَّلَوٰةَ وَءَاتَى ٱلزَّكَوٰةَ
وَٱلْمُوفُونَ بِعَهْدِهِمْ إِذَا عَـٰهَدُوا۟ ۖ وَٱلصَّـٰبِرِينَ فِى ٱلْبَأْسَآءِ وَٱلضَّرَّآءِ
وَحِينَ ٱلْبَأْسِ ۗ أُو۟لَـٰٓئِكَ ٱلَّذِينَ صَدَقُوا۟ ۖ وَأُو۟لَـٰٓئِكَ هُمُ ٱلْمُتَّقُونَ ﴿١٧٧﴾ ﴾

سورة البقرة آية ١٧٧

(It is not righteousness that you turn your faces towards East or West: but it is righteousness to believe in Allah and the Last Day, and the Angels, and the Book, and the Messengers: to spend of your substance, out of love for Him, for your kin, for orphans, for the needy, for the wayfarer, for those who ask, and for the ransom of slaves:

to be steadfast in prayer, and give Zakah, to fulfil the contracts which you have made: and to be firm and patient, in pain (or suffering) and adversity, and throughout all periods of panic. Such are the people of truth, the God-fearing.) (Al-Baqarah: 177)

The man with genuine ***imān,*** therefore, is the man who turns with his whole heart to Allah in prayer, making Allah the witness of his own piety. It is he who implores His help in the fulfillment of the duties of life, solicits His guidance and blessing in his search for the secrets of the world and for the laws and pattern of the cosmos during his prayer as well as at any other time.

Hence, the Muslim is fully conscious of his insignificance before Almighty God on high. We are capable of achieving such a view of the earth's insignificance when we ascend in an air-plane a few thousand meters into the sky and begin to see the mountains, rivers, and cities as small marks upon a vast canvas. We see them delineated in front of our eyes as if they were mere lines on a map made out of paper. The earth looks flat; mountains and buildings lose their elevation, and wells and rivers their depression. The whole appears to be no more than patches of color moving and waving and intermingling with one another the higher we ascend into space. Our very earth is only a little planet among thousands of other heavenly bodies and systems, and these are only a very small pocket in the infinite magnitude of being. How small and little we therefore are! How weak and insignificant in relation to the Creator of all this being and to its Ruler and Provider whose very greatness stands beyond our grasp?

Equality before Allah

How worthy we are when we turn our heart to His sublime holiness and majesty, soliciting Him to strengthen us and guide

us to the truth to realize the profound equality which characterizes all men in such weakness! How inevitable is then our realization of the absolute equality of mankind, an equality impervious to any amount of wealth or power achievable on earth, but deeply transformable by ***imān*** in Allah, by submission to Him, by righteousness, virtue, and piety! What a tremendous distance separates this kind of equality, this genuine equality before Allah, from equality before the law of man which western civilization has recently been professing so loudly! Indeed, western civilization is not far from denying equality before the law when its people deny the privileges of such equality to this or that group of men. How unlike each other are the two egalitarianisms! On the one hand is the equality before Allah, touched and held most concretely in the hour of prayer and reached by each man deliberately in the exercise of his own mind and free thought. On the other hand, we have an equality before the law, achieved in the struggle and competition for the acquisition of wealth. By definition, equality before the law does not rule out cheating, hypocrisy, and untruth; and it allows the culprit to escape the jurisdiction of the law if he is only creative enough to find ways and means of outwitting the legislator, the judge, or his own victim.

On the other hand, equality before Allah calls for genuine fraternity and brotherhood because it imposes upon all a realization of their fraternity in service to Allah and in the worship of the One Master. Such brotherhood is based on conscientious evaluation of the fact, free investigation, and critical research, all imposed by the Qur'an. Surely, no liberty, no equality, and no fraternity are greater than this one, where all men stand in front of Allah in one line prostrating their heads to Him, acknowledging His transcendence and unity, and kneeling and praying to Him without the slightest distinction between one and the other. No equality is greater than that which belongs to such

a community whose every member actually seeks Divine assistance in repentence and awe, asking for forgiveness and mercy, without any distinction whatever to differentiate the one from his fellowmen except his virtuous actions, his righteousness and piety. This kind of fraternity and equality purifies the hearts of men and cleanses them from the stain of matter. This condition alone guarantees happiness to mankind and leads it to certain knowledge of Allah's pattern in the world as long as Allah Himself is willing to lead men with His own light.

Nature of Islamic Fasting

Men are not all equal in their capacities to fulfill the piety and virtue which Allah has made incumbent upon them. Our bodies may weigh down our spirits so as to make them incapable of moving and rising toward Allah. Our will to material need and welfare may overcome our humanity unless we keep up the exercise of our spirit and constantly turn to Allah in our prayers rather than being satisfied with the mechanical performance of kneeling, prostration, and recitation. Hence it is our duty wher-ever possible to stop all activities which tend to weigh us down, to shackle our spirit, or to give dominance to our material welfare over our humanity. Hence, Islam imposed fasting as a means for achieving virtue and piety.

Allah has said:

﴿ يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُواْ كُتِبَ عَلَيۡكُمُ ٱلصِّيَامُ كَمَا كُتِبَ عَلَى ٱلَّذِينَ مِن قَبۡلِكُمۡ لَعَلَّكُمۡ تَتَّقُونَ ﴿١٨٣﴾ ﴾ سورة البقرة آية ١٨٣

(O you who believe! Fasting is prescribed to you as it was prescribed to those before you, that you may (learn) self-restraint,) (Al-Baqarah: 183)

Piety, virtue, and righteousness are all equivalent. The righteous are those who are pious, who prove their ***imān*** in Allah on the Day of Judgment, and who, by following the angels, the Book and the prophets, fulfill the requisites of the above-mentioned verses.

But if the purpose of fasting is that the body may not weigh down the spirit and that matter may not overcome humanity, to abstain from food and drink from dawn till sunset and then to indulge in the enjoyment of all kinds of pleasures is surely to deny that purpose. Indulgence in pleasures is by itself immoral and vicious, regardless of whether it is preceded by fasting or not. The case is even worse if man fasts all day and then surrenders himself greedily to that of which he has been deprived. Such conduct is tantamount to bringing Allah to witness that the fast was not made in purification of the body and strengthening of humanity. Such a man does not fast in freedom, convinced of the advantage of fasting for his spiritual life, but in order to fulfill a duty, the meaning of which his mind is incapable of grasping. More likely, he regards fasting as a privation and a violation of the freedom which he will recapture at the end of the day. His case is not unlike that of the person who does not steal because the law forbids him to, not because he regards himself above stealing and denies it to himself as well as to others, in full exercise of his freedom.

Fasting Is Not Self-Privation

In fact, to regard fasting as privation, or as an attack upon man's liberty, is to misunderstand it and to make of it something utterly futile and vain. The truth is that fasting is a purification of the soul. It is demanded by reason and should be entered into freely if man is to recapture his freedom of willing and thinking

which his material demands have denied or lessened. Once such freedom is gained, man may rise to the level of genuine ***iman*** in Allah. This is the purpose of the Divine statement which follows the imposition of fasting upon men of faith of past or present, namely:

﴿ أَيَّامًا مَّعْدُودَاتٍ ۚ فَمَن كَانَ مِنكُم مَّرِيضًا أَوْ عَلَىٰ سَفَرٍ فَعِدَّةٌ مِّنْ أَيَّامٍ أُخَرَ ۚ وَعَلَى الَّذِينَ يُطِيقُونَهُ فِدْيَةٌ طَعَامُ مِسْكِينٍ ۖ فَمَن تَطَوَّعَ خَيْرًا فَهُوَ خَيْرٌ لَّهُ ۚ وَأَن تَصُومُوا خَيْرٌ لَّكُمْ ۖ إِن كُنتُمْ تَعْلَمُونَ (١٨٤) ﴾

سورة البقرة آية ١٨٤

(Fasting) for a fixed number of days: but if any of you is ill, or on a journey, the prescribed number (should be made up) from days later. For those who can do it (with hardship), is a ransom, the feeding of one that is indigent but he that will give more, of his own free will, it is better for him. And it is better for you that you fast, if you only knew.)

(Al-Baqarah: 184)

It may seem strange to claim that a person can recapture his freedom of will and freedom of thinking if he should undertake to fast in deliberate pursuit of his spiritual welfare. But this strangeness is really the result of a confusion which modern thought has brought to our idea of freedom. Modern thought has pulled down the spiritual and psychic frontiers of freedom, and preserved only its material frontiers whose guardianship and protection it entrusted to the arms of the law. According to this modern thinking, man is not free to attack the wealth of his neighbor nor his person, but he is free in all that pertains to his own person even if he were to transgress the limits of reason or of morality.

The facts of life tell otherwise. They tell that man is the slave of habit; that, for instance, man is accustomed to eat his food in the morning, at noon, and in the evening. Therefore, his being asked to eat food only in the morning and evening is considered an attack upon his freedom. The truth is that it is only an attack upon his enslavement to his habit, so to speak. Some men accustom themselves to smoking so heavily that they can very well be said to have become the slaves of their habit. If they are asked to spend an .entire day without smoking, it will be regarded as an attack upon their freedom, whereas in fact it is only an attack upon their enslavement to their habit. Likewise, others have accustomed themselves to drinking coffee or tea or other drinks at certain times. If they are asked to change these times, it will be regarded as an attack upon their freedom. But slavery to habit and custom is corruptive of the will, of the genuine exercise of true freedom. Moreover, it is corruptive of sane thinking, for it subjugates thinking to the material requirements to which the body has become accustomed. That is why many people have had recourse to varying kinds of fasting which they observe at different intervals of the week or the month. But Allah seeks no hardship for men. That is why He prescribed for them a definite number of days during which all men must fast without distinction. That is why He allowed them to expiate for their failure to fast, and granted the sick and the traveler express permission to postpone their fasting to other days.

The prescription of fasting for a definite number of days further consolidates the Muslim's feeling for and consciousness of equality with other men before Allah. This is the effect of complete abstinence from dawn to sunset undertaken not as physical but as spiritual exercise imposed equally on all. The same sense of equality is experienced in the communal fasting as that which communal prayer fosters so well. It is during their fast that the feeling of Muslim fraternity is at its greatest strength, for

men are not then affected by the usual differences in enjoyment of the material goods of this life which separate them from one another. Fasting consolidates freedom, equality, and fraternity in man just as strongly as does prayer.

If we undertake fasting freely and in the consciousness that Allah's commandments can never differ from those of reason as long as it perceives the final purpose of life, we can appreciate how much fasting liberates us from the yoke of habit and contributes to the development of our will and capacity for freedom. We may remember that what man prescribes for himself with Allah's permission by way of spiritual and psychic limitations upon his own freedom in seeking to liberate himself from his habits and passions is the best guarantee for his reaching the highest levels of religious conviction. If, in matters of religion, ***taqlid*** constitutes no religious conviction at all but mere acquiescence to the proposed claim without conviction of its truth, ***taqlid*** in fasting is self-privation and a limitation of one's personal freedom, a totally different affair from that fasting which liberates man from the chains of habit and furnishes him with the greatest psychic nourishment and spiritual ***élan.***

Nature of Islamic Zakāt

Through prayer and fasting exercises which rest on a base of the widest and deepest possible scientific knowledge of the world, man may reach awareness of the pattern of the cosmos and a penetration of its secrets. In consequence, man may discover his place as well as that of his fellow men in the cosmos. His love for them and their love for him will increase with this realization. In service to Allah, they will cooperate with one another for the good and reinforce one another's piety; the strong will protect the weak, and the rich will share their bounty with the poor. But that is precisely the ***zakāt.*** To do more than it

requires is charity. The Qur'ān joins ***zakāt*** to prayer in many places. Some of the following verses have already been quoted:

﴿ وَلَٰكِنَّ ٱلْبِرَّ مَنْ ءَامَنَ بِٱللَّهِ وَٱلْيَوْمِ ٱلْءَاخِرِ وَٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةِ وَٱلْكِتَٰبِ وَٱلنَّبِيِّـۧنَ وَءَاتَى ٱلْمَالَ عَلَىٰ حُبِّهِۦ ذَوِى ٱلْقُرْبَىٰ وَٱلْيَتَٰمَىٰ وَٱلْمَسَٰكِينَ وَٱبْنَ ٱلسَّبِيلِ وَٱلسَّآئِلِينَ وَفِى ٱلرِّقَابِ وَأَقَامَ ٱلصَّلَوٰةَ وَءَاتَى ٱلزَّكَوٰةَ ﴿١٧٧﴾ ﴾

سورة البقرة آية ١٧٧

(But it is righteousness to believe in Allah and the Last Day, and the Angels, and the Book, and the Messengers: to spend of your substance, out of love for Him, for your kin, for orphans, for the needy, for the wayfarer, for those who ask, and for the ransom of slaves: to be steadfast in prayer, and give Zakah,) (Al-Baqarah: 177)

Allah also says:

﴿ وَأَقِيمُوا۟ ٱلصَّلَوٰةَ وَءَاتُوا۟ ٱلزَّكَوٰةَ وَٱرْكَعُوا۟ مَعَ ٱلرَّٰكِعِينَ ﴿٤٣﴾ ﴾

سورة البقرة آية ٤٣

(And be steadfast in prayer: give Zakah: and bow down your heads with those who bow down (in worship).)
(Al-Baqarah: 43)

Further more, Allah says:

﴿ قَدْ أَفْلَحَ ٱلْمُؤْمِنُونَ ﴿١﴾ ٱلَّذِينَ هُمْ فِى صَلَاتِهِمْ خَٰشِعُونَ ﴿٢﴾ وَٱلَّذِينَ هُمْ عَنِ ٱللَّغْوِ مُعْرِضُونَ ﴿٣﴾ وَٱلَّذِينَ هُمْ لِلزَّكَوٰةِ فَٰعِلُونَ ﴿٤﴾ ﴾

سورة المؤمنون الآيات ١-٤

(Successful indeed are the Believers, Those who humble themselves in their prayers: Who avoid vain talk: Who are active in giving Zakah) (Al-Mu'minun: 1-4)

Concerning ***zakāt*** and charity, the Qur'ān talks at length, clearly and emphatically. It has classified charity among the highest virtues deserving of the greatest rewards; indeed, it has placed charity alongside the conviction of Allah, thus leading us to believe that the two are equal. Addressing His angels regarding a man who violated the duty of charity, Allah said:

﴿ ثُمَّ ٱلْجَحِيمَ صَلُّوهُ ﴿٣١﴾ ثُمَّ فِي سِلْسِلَةٍ ذَرْعُهَا سَبْعُونَ ذِرَاعًا فَٱسْلُكُوهُ ﴿٣٢﴾ إِنَّهُۥ كَانَ لَا يُؤْمِنُ بِٱللَّهِ ٱلْعَظِيمِ ﴿٣٣﴾ وَلَا يَحُضُّ عَلَىٰ طَعَامِ ٱلْمِسْكِينِ ﴿٣٤﴾ ﴾ سورة الحاقة الآيات ٣١-٣٤

(And burn him in the Blazing Fire. "Further, insert him march in a chain, whereof the length is seventy cubits! "This was he that would not believe in Allah Most High, "And would not encourage the feeding of the indigent!)
(Al-Haqqah:31-34)

Similarly, Allah said:

﴿ وَبَشِّرِ ٱلْمُخْبِتِينَ ﴿٣٤﴾ ٱلَّذِينَ إِذَا ذُكِرَ ٱللَّهُ وَجِلَتْ قُلُوبُهُمْ وَٱلصَّٰبِرِينَ عَلَىٰ مَآ أَصَابَهُمْ وَٱلْمُقِيمِى ٱلصَّلَوٰةِ وَمِمَّا رَزَقْنَٰهُمْ يُنفِقُونَ ﴿٣٥﴾ ﴾
سورة الحج الآيتان ٣٤-٣٥

(And give the good news to those who humble

themselves, To those whose hearts, when Allah is mentioned, are filled with fear, who show patient perseverance over their afflictions, keep up regular prayer, and spend (in charity) out of what We have bestowed upon them.) (Al-Hajj:34-35)

﴿ ٱلَّذِينَ يُنفِقُونَ أَمْوَٰلَهُم بِٱلَّيْلِ وَٱلنَّهَارِ سِرًّا وَعَلَانِيَةً فَلَهُمْ أَجْرُهُمْ عِندَ رَبِّهِمْ وَلَا خَوْفٌ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا هُمْ يَحْزَنُونَ ﴿٢٧٤﴾ ﴾
سورة البقرة آية ٢٧٤

Those who (in charity) spend of their goods by night and by day, in secret and in public, have their reward with their Lord: on them shall be no fear, nor shall they grieve. (Al-Baqarah: 274)

Islam and the Manners of Giving

Not satisfied with mentioning charity, nor with prescribing for it the same reward as for faith in Allah and the observance of prayer, the Qur'ān furnishes norms for the manner of giving in charity. Allah says:

﴿ إِن تُبْدُوا۟ ٱلصَّدَقَٰتِ فَنِعِمَّا هِىَ ۖ وَإِن تُخْفُوهَا وَتُؤْتُوهَا ٱلْفُقَرَآءَ فَهُوَ خَيْرٌ لَّكُمْ ۚ ﴿٢٧١﴾ ﴾ سورة البقرة آية ٢٧١

(If you disclose (acts of) charity, even so it is well, but if you conceal them, and make them reach those (really) in need, that is best for you) (Al-Baqarah: 274)

Allah also says:

﴿ قَوْلٌ مَّعْرُوفٌ وَمَغْفِرَةٌ خَيْرٌ مِّن صَدَقَةٍ يَتْبَعُهَآ أَذًى ۗ وَٱللَّهُ غَنِىٌّ حَلِيمٌ ﴿٢٦٣﴾ يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا۟ لَا تُبْطِلُوا۟ صَدَقَٰتِكُم بِٱلْمَنِّ وَٱلْأَذَىٰ ﴾

سورة البقرة الآيتان ٢٦٣- ٢٦٤

(Kind words and the covering of faults are better than charity followed by injury. Allah is Free of all wants, and He is Most Forbearing. O you who believe! Cancel not your charity by reminders of your generosity or by injury)

(Al-Baqarah: 263-264)

Allah—May He be praised—specified the people who may be recipients of

﴿ إِنَّمَا ٱلصَّدَقَٰتُ لِلْفُقَرَآءِ وَٱلْمَسَٰكِينِ وَٱلْعَٰمِلِينَ عَلَيْهَا وَٱلْمُؤَلَّفَةِ قُلُوبُهُمْ وَفِى ٱلرِّقَابِ وَٱلْغَٰرِمِينَ وَفِى سَبِيلِ ٱللَّهِ وَٱبْنِ ٱلسَّبِيلِ ۖ فَرِيضَةً مِّنَ ٱللَّهِ ۗ وَٱللَّهُ عَلِيمٌ حَكِيمٌ ﴿٦٠﴾ ﴾ سورة التوبة آية ٦٠

(Alms are for the poor and the needy, and those employed to administer the (funds); for those whose hearts have been (recently) reconciled (to the truth); for those in bondage and in debt; in the cause of Allah; and for the wayfarer: (thus is it) ordained by Allah, and Allah is full of knowledge and wisdom.) (At-Tawbah:60)

Zakāt as Act of Worship

Zakat and charity, therefore, constitute two of the major duties and pillars of Islam. It may be asked whether the performance of these duties is a matter of worship or merely of ethics and moral refinement. Without doubt the answer is worship. The believers are brethren; no man's ***iman*** is complete until he wishes for his neighbor that which he wishes for himself. The believers love one another by virtue of Allah's light and grace. The duties of ***zakat*** and charity are intimately related to this fraternal feeling. They are not pieces of moral sophistication nor elements of the Islamic theory of contracts. In Islam, that which pertains to brotherhood pertains equally to ***imān,*** or religious conviction of Allah; and all that pertains to ***imān*** is worship. That is why ***zakāt*** is one of the five pillars of Islam, and why, after the death of the Prophet (P.B.U.H), Abū Bakr required the Muslims to pay it. When some Muslims failed to do so, the immediate successor of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) regarded their failure as a fault of faith, a preference for wealth, and a violation of the spiritual system revealed in the Qur'ān—in short, as abjuration of Islam itself.

Hence, Abu Bakr conducted the Riddah War in order to confirm the establishment of the message of Islam in its totality, a message which has remained a cause for pride forever.

The Will To Wealth

To regard ***zakāt*** and charity as duties essentially related to ***imān, i.e.,*** to faith as religious conviction of Allah, is to regard them as part of the spiritual system which ought to govern the civilization of the world. Such regard is, indeed, the highest wisdom which can guarantee happiness to man. The pursuit and acquisition of wealth, and its use as an instrument for the

dominion of man over man, have always been and still are the cause of the misery of the world, of revolutions, and of wars. The worship of wealth was and still is the cause of the moral deterioration which has enveloped the world and of which human society continues to suffer. It is the acquisition, pursuit, and hoarding of wealth which has destroyed human fraternity and planted enmity between man and man. Were men to follow a higher vision and had they a nobler bent of mind, they would have realized that fraternity is more conducive to happiness than wealth, that to spend wealth on the needy is worthier with Allah and with men than the subjugation of men to its dominion. Were they truly convinced of Allah, they would realize this fraternity toward one another; and they would fulfill, as the least requirement of such a fraternity, the duties of rescuing the needy, assisting the deprived, and putting an end to the misery and suffering brought about by poverty and want. Granted, some highly civilized countries in our day do establish hospitals and communal buildings for rescuing the poor, for sheltering the homeless and assisting the deprived in the name of humanity and mercy. Still, were these constructions and communal services founded upon fraternal feeling and love in Allah for the neighbor as an expression of praise for His bounty, they would constitute nobler efforts and lead more truly to the happiness of all men. Allah said:

﴿ وَٱبۡتَغِ فِيمَآ ءَاتَىٰكَ ٱللَّهُ ٱلدَّارَ ٱلۡأٓخِرَةَۖ وَلَا تَنسَ نَصِيبَكَ مِنَ ٱلدُّنۡيَاۖ وَأَحۡسِن كَمَآ أَحۡسَنَ ٱللَّهُ إِلَيۡكَۖ وَلَا تَبۡغِ ٱلۡفَسَادَ فِي ٱلۡأَرۡضِۖ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ لَا يُحِبُّ ٱلۡمُفۡسِدِينَ ﴿٧٧﴾ ﴾ سورة القصص آية ٧٧

(But seek, with the (wealth) which Allah has bestowed on you, the Home of the Hereafter, nor forget your portion

in this World: but do good, as Allah has been good to you, and seek not (occasions for) mischief in the land: for Allah loves not those who do mischief.) (Al Qasas:77)

Nature of Islamic Pilgrimage

Brotherhood reinforces men's love for one another. In Islam, it is not legitimate to limit the exercise of this love to the frontiers of one's homeland, nor even to one's race or continent. Fraternal love must have no spatial limits whatever. That is why Islam commands that men from all corners of the world know, defend, and fraternize with one another, that their love for one another in Allah may be strengthened and their conviction of Allah may be confirmed. The instrument proper for such exercise is the congregation of men from all corners of the earth in one place and for one purpose. The best locality for such a convocation is precisely the place where the light of this great love has broken through, namely Allah's sanctuary in Makkah. This assembly is the Islamic pilgrimage. As the believers gather and perform the rites of pilgrimage, it is their duty to lead such lives as would provide the most illustrious living example of conviction and faith in Allah and of a sincere openness to determination by His will. Allah May He be praised—said:

﴿ ٱلْحَجُّ أَشْهُرٌ مَّعْلُومَٰتٌ ۚ فَمَن فَرَضَ فِيهِنَّ ٱلْحَجَّ فَلَا رَفَثَ وَلَا فُسُوقَ وَلَا جِدَالَ فِى ٱلْحَجِّ ۗ وَمَا تَفْعَلُوا۟ مِنْ خَيْرٍ يَعْلَمْهُ ٱللَّهُ ۗ وَتَزَوَّدُوا۟ فَإِنَّ خَيْرَ ٱلزَّادِ ٱلتَّقْوَىٰ ۚ وَٱتَّقُونِ يَٰٓأُو۟لِى ٱلْأَلْبَٰبِ ﴿١٩٧﴾ ﴾

سورة البقرة آية ١٩٧

(For Hajj are the months well-known. If any one

undertakes that duty therein, let there be no obscenity, nor wickedness, nor wrangling in the Hajj and whatever good you do, (be sure) Allah knows it. And take a provision (with you) for the journey, but the best of provisions is right conduct. So fear Me, O you that are wise!)

(Al-Baqarah:197)

On this great and unique occasion when the believers perform the pilgrimage aiming at fraternizing with one another and thus strengthening their conviction of Allah, all distinctions between man and man must fall to the ground. All men must feel that they are equal before Allah and all must turn their minds and hearts to Him in response to His call and fulfillment of His command. They should approach the pilgrimage fully convinced of His unicity and deeply grateful for His bounty. But what bounty and what felicity are greater than ***imān*** in Allah the source of all good and all bounty? May He be adored! Before the light which such ***imān*** brings, all the worries and concerns of life dissolve; all its vanity, whether of wealth, children, political power or glory, utterly vanishes. By virtue of this light, man becomes capable of apprehending the truth, goodness, and beauty of this world, the eternal laws and immutable pattern on which the world is founded. It is this general convocation, namely the pilgrimage, that embodies the meaning of equality and brotherhood among all the believers and does so in the most comprehensive, clear, and sublime manner.

The Metaphysic of Morals in Islam

These are the fundamental principles of Islam and its duties as revealed to the Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H) They constitute the five pillars of Islam as the above mentioned verses of the Qur'ān show. They are the cornerstones of Islamic

spiritual life. Now that these principles and duties have been enumerated, it is easy to infer from them the schemata of Islamic morality. These belong to a level so high, so sublime, that they have never been matched by any human civilization in any period of history. In this regard, the Qur'ān has given rules and ideals of conduct which, if duly observed, fulfilled, and made to constitute the guiding principles of life, would enable man to attain moral perfection. These principles were not all recorded in the same chapter of the Qur'ān but in many chapters. The reader has no sooner read a ***sūrah*** of the Qur'ān than he feels himself elevated to the apex of moral advancement, an apex which had never been reached and will never be reached by any other civilization. Sufficient is the Qur'ānic raising of the whole discipline of the soul on a spiritual foundation stemming from the conviction of Allah. Sufficient is the Qur'ānic demand that mind and heart of man be nourished exclusively from this source and without regard either to material welfare or to any utilitarian value that might accrue from such conduct.

The Qur'ānic Notion of the Perfect Man

In all ages and among all peoples, poets and writers, philosophers and dramatists have depicted the perfect man. Nonetheless, no picture of perfect man is to be found anywhere which dares compare with this sublime picture which the Qur'ān has depicted in the ***surah*** "al Isrā'," though it constitutes only a small portion of the wisdom revealed by Allah to His Prophet (P.B.U.H).

This ***Surah*** by no means aims at giving a full description of the perfect man but only at reminding men of a fraction of the duties imposed upon them. Allah says:

﴿ ۞ وَقَضَىٰ رَبُّكَ أَلَّا تَعۡبُدُوٓاْ إِلَّآ إِيَّاهُ وَبِٱلۡوَٰلِدَيۡنِ إِحۡسَٰنًاۚ إِمَّا
يَبۡلُغَنَّ عِندَكَ ٱلۡكِبَرَ أَحَدُهُمَآ أَوۡ كِلَاهُمَا فَلَا تَقُل لَّهُمَآ أُفّٖ وَلَا
تَنۡهَرۡهُمَا وَقُل لَّهُمَا قَوۡلٗا كَرِيمٗا ﴿٢٣﴾ وَٱخۡفِضۡ لَهُمَا جَنَاحَ ٱلذُّلِّ
مِنَ ٱلرَّحۡمَةِ وَقُل رَّبِّ ٱرۡحَمۡهُمَا كَمَا رَبَّيَانِي صَغِيرٗا ﴿٢٤﴾ رَّبُّكُمۡ أَعۡلَمُ بِمَا
فِي نُفُوسِكُمۡۚ إِن تَكُونُواْ صَٰلِحِينَ فَإِنَّهُۥ كَانَ لِلۡأَوَّٰبِينَ غَفُورٗا ﴿٢٥﴾
وَءَاتِ ذَا ٱلۡقُرۡبَىٰ حَقَّهُۥ وَٱلۡمِسۡكِينَ وَٱبۡنَ ٱلسَّبِيلِ وَلَا تُبَذِّرۡ تَبۡذِيرًا ﴿٢٦﴾
إِنَّ ٱلۡمُبَذِّرِينَ كَانُوٓاْ إِخۡوَٰنَ ٱلشَّيَٰطِينِۖ وَكَانَ ٱلشَّيۡطَٰنُ لِرَبِّهِۦ كَفُورٗا
﴿٢٧﴾ وَإِمَّا تُعۡرِضَنَّ عَنۡهُمُ ٱبۡتِغَآءَ رَحۡمَةٖ مِّن رَّبِّكَ تَرۡجُوهَا فَقُل لَّهُمۡ قَوۡلٗا
مَّيۡسُورٗا ﴿٢٨﴾ وَلَا تَجۡعَلۡ يَدَكَ مَغۡلُولَةً إِلَىٰ عُنُقِكَ وَلَا تَبۡسُطۡهَا كُلَّ
ٱلۡبَسۡطِ فَتَقۡعُدَ مَلُومٗا مَّحۡسُورًا ﴿٢٩﴾ إِنَّ رَبَّكَ يَبۡسُطُ ٱلرِّزۡقَ لِمَن يَشَآءُ
وَيَقۡدِرُۚ إِنَّهُۥ كَانَ بِعِبَادِهِۦ خَبِيرَۢا بَصِيرٗا ﴿٣٠﴾ وَلَا تَقۡتُلُوٓاْ أَوۡلَٰدَكُمۡ
خَشۡيَةَ إِمۡلَٰقٖۖ نَّحۡنُ نَرۡزُقُهُمۡ وَإِيَّاكُمۡۚ إِنَّ قَتۡلَهُمۡ كَانَ خِطۡـٔٗا كَبِيرٗا ﴿٣١﴾
وَلَا تَقۡرَبُواْ ٱلزِّنَىٰٓۖ إِنَّهُۥ كَانَ فَٰحِشَةٗ وَسَآءَ سَبِيلٗا ﴿٣٢﴾ وَلَا تَقۡتُلُواْ
ٱلنَّفۡسَ ٱلَّتِي حَرَّمَ ٱللَّهُ إِلَّا بِٱلۡحَقِّۗ وَمَن قُتِلَ مَظۡلُومٗا فَقَدۡ جَعَلۡنَا
لِوَلِيِّهِۦ سُلۡطَٰنٗا فَلَا يُسۡرِف فِّي ٱلۡقَتۡلِۖ إِنَّهُۥ كَانَ مَنصُورٗا ﴿٣٣﴾ وَلَا

تَقْرَبُوا۟ مَالَ ٱلْيَتِيمِ إِلَّا بِٱلَّتِى هِىَ أَحْسَنُ حَتَّىٰ يَبْلُغَ أَشُدَّهُۥ ۚ وَأَوْفُوا۟ بِٱلْعَهْدِ ۖ إِنَّ ٱلْعَهْدَ كَانَ مَسْـُٔولًا ﴿٣٤﴾ وَأَوْفُوا۟ ٱلْكَيْلَ إِذَا كِلْتُمْ وَزِنُوا۟ بِٱلْقِسْطَاسِ ٱلْمُسْتَقِيمِ ۚ ذَٰلِكَ خَيْرٌ وَأَحْسَنُ تَأْوِيلًا ﴿٣٥﴾ وَلَا تَقْفُ مَا لَيْسَ لَكَ بِهِۦ عِلْمٌ ۚ إِنَّ ٱلسَّمْعَ وَٱلْبَصَرَ وَٱلْفُؤَادَ كُلُّ أُو۟لَـٰٓئِكَ كَانَ عَنْهُ مَسْـُٔولًا ﴿٣٦﴾ وَلَا تَمْشِ فِى ٱلْأَرْضِ مَرَحًا ۖ إِنَّكَ لَن تَخْرِقَ ٱلْأَرْضَ وَلَن تَبْلُغَ ٱلْجِبَالَ طُولًا ﴿٣٧﴾ كُلُّ ذَٰلِكَ كَانَ سَيِّئُهُۥ عِندَ رَبِّكَ مَكْرُوهًا ﴿٣٨﴾ ﴾

سورة الإسراء الآيات ٢٣-٣٨

(Your Lord has decreed that you worship none but Him, and that you be kind to parents. Whether one or both of them attain old age in your life, say not to them a word of contempt, nor repel them, but address them in terms of honour. And, out of kindness, lower to them the wing of humility, and say: "My Lord! bestow on them Your Mercy even as they cherished me in childhood." Your Lord knows best what is in your hearts: if you do deeds of righteousness, verily He is Most Forgiving to those who turn to Him again and again (in true penitence). And render to the kindred their due rights, as (also) to those in want, and to the wayfarer: but squander not (your wealth) in the manner of a spendthrift. Verily spendthrifts are brothers of the Satans. And the Satan is to his Lord (Himself) Ungrateful. And even if you have to turn away from them in pursuit of the Mercy from your Lord which you do expect, you speak to them a word tied (like a niggard's) to your

neck, nor stretch it forth to its utmost reach, so that you become blameworthy and destitute. Verily your Lord does provide sustenance in abundance for whom He pleases, and He straiten it for He does know and regard all His servants. Kill not your children for fear of want: We shall provide sustenance for them as well as for you. Verily the killing of them is a great sin. Nor come nigh to adultery: for it is a shameful (deed) and an evil, way. Nor take life - which Allah has made sacred - except for just cause. And if anyone is slain wrongfully, We have given his heir authority (to demand Qisas or to forgive): but let him not exceed bounds in the matter of taking life: for he is helped (by the law). Come not nigh to the orphan's property except to improve it, until he attains the age of full strength: and fulfil (every) engagement, for (every) engagement, will be enquired into (on the Day of Reckoning). Give full measure when you measure, and weigh with a balance that is straight: that is better and fairer in the final determination. And pursue not that of which you have no knowledge: for surely the hearing, the sight, the heart all of those shall be questioned of. Nor walk on the earth with insolence: for you can not rend the earth asunder, nor reach the mountains in height. Of all such things the evil is hateful in the sight of your Lord.) (Al-Isra':23-38)

What sublimity! What perfection! What magnanimity and purity! Every one of the foregoing verses causes the reader to fall down in reverence and awe, combining as it does the moving appeal of moral value, the sublimity of expression, the beauty of form, the nobility of meaning, and the highest vividness of description. How I wish the occasion permitted an elaboration of this passage! But it does not, for to do justice to a passage even as short as the foregoing would require a whole volume.

The Qur'ān on Self-Discipline

Indeed, even if we were to limit ourselves to a discussion of only a portion of what the Qur'ān contains by way of self-discipline and morality, much more would be needed than a mere chapter of a book. Suffice it to say, therefore, that no writing has ever called man to do the good works and elevated the virtuous life as the Qur'ān has done; that no book has elevated the human soul to the level to which the Qur'ān has raised it; and that no book has emphasized virtue, mercy, fraternity and love, cooperation and harmony, charity and kindness, loyalty and trustworthiness, sincerity and good intention, justice and forgiveness, patience and forbearance, humility and submission, virtue and goodness, the commandment to good and the forbiddance of evil with as much power, persuasion, and sublimity as the Qur'ān has done. No book has ever spoken against weakness and fear, favoritism and jealously, hatred and injustice, lying and libel, avarice and prodigality, false witness and perjury, aggression and corruption, cheating, treason, and all vice as profoundly and persuasively as the Revelation which came to the Arab Prophet (P.B.U.H). The reader will find no ***sūrah*** in the Qur'ān in which the call to virtue, the commandment to good, the forbiddance of evil, and the pursuit of perfection are not central. Every ***sūrah*** raises the reader to the highest level of moral awareness and tension. Let us mark well Allah's statement regarding tolerance:

﴿ ٱدْفَعْ بِٱلَّتِي هِيَ أَحْسَنُ ٱلسَّيِّئَةَ ۚ نَحْنُ أَعْلَمُ بِمَا يَصِفُونَ ﴿٩٦﴾ ﴾
سورة «المؤمنون» آية ٩٦

(Repel evil with that which is best: We are well-acquainted with the things they say.) (Al-Mu'minun: 96)

﴿ وَلَا تَسْتَوِى ٱلْحَسَنَةُ وَلَا ٱلسَّيِّئَةُ ۚ ٱدْفَعْ بِٱلَّتِى هِىَ أَحْسَنُ فَإِذَا ٱلَّذِى بَيْنَكَ وَبَيْنَهُۥ عَدَٰوَةٌ كَأَنَّهُۥ وَلِىٌّ حَمِيمٌ ﴿٣٤﴾ ﴾ سورة فصلت آية ٣٤

(Nor can Goodness and Evil be equal. Repel (Evil) with what is better: then will he between whom and you was hatred become as it were your friend and intimate!)
(Fussilat:34)

This toleration to which the Qur'ān calls, however, does not proceed from weakness but from magnanimity of spirit, a will to compete in good deeds and to avoid lowly ones. Allah says:

﴿ وَإِذَا حُيِّيتُم بِتَحِيَّةٍ فَحَيُّوا۟ بِأَحْسَنَ مِنْهَآ أَوْ رُدُّوهَآ ۗ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ كَانَ عَلَىٰ كُلِّ شَىْءٍ حَسِيبًا ﴿٨٦﴾ ﴾ سورة النساء آية ٨٦

(When a (courteous) greeting is offered you, meet it with a greeting still more courteous, or (at least) of equal courtesy. Allah takes careful account of all things.)
(An-Nisaa: 86)

Further, Allah says:

﴿ وَإِنْ عَاقَبْتُمْ فَعَاقِبُوا۟ بِمِثْلِ مَا عُوقِبْتُم بِهِۦ ۖ وَلَئِن صَبَرْتُمْ لَهُوَ خَيْرٌ لِّلصَّٰبِرِينَ ﴿١٢٦﴾ ﴾ سورة النحل آية ١٢٦

(And if you punish, let your punishment be proportionate to the wrong that has been done to you

worse than they catch but if you show patience, that is indeed the best (course) for those who are patient.) (Al-Nahl:126)

All these verses clearly establish that the Islamic call to tolerance is at .the same time a call to virtue unspoiled by any weakness. It is indeed the consequence of a self-transcendence that is pure and unalloyed.

Tolerance from strength and virtue, to which the Qur'ān calls, is founded upon brotherhood which Islam places at the root of its civilization and which it holds to be absolutely universal. Islamic brotherhood integrates justice and mercy without weakness or sufferance. It arises from equality in right, goodness and virtue, unaffected by utilitarian advantage. Under its aegis, the Muslim prefers his fellows to himself even though they be far inferior to him. He fears Allah and none other; consequently, the Muslim is the model of pride, dignity, and self-respect. And yet he is the model of humility and modesty. He is truthful and fulfills a covenant once he has entered into it. He is as patient when tragedy strikes as when he receives good fortune and new power. Faced with calamity, he thinks, feels, and prays:

"We are all Allah's, and to Him we shall all return." He never abases himself to anyone, and yet he has no false pride. Allah has protected him against avarice and stinginess when they are directed toward himself. He never reports falsely about Allah or about His servants; he never approves of adultery and always seeks to avoid transgression and crime. If he ever goes into a rage, he seeks Allah's mercy and forgiveness, sublimates his rage and fury, and forgives his offenders. He avoids suspicion, spying, and reporting secretly about his fellows. He does not violate the wealth of his fellows, nor allow the rulers to do so unjustly. He stands beyond jealousy, strategy, deceit, gossip, and every kind of misdemeanor.

Morality and Utilitarianism

These virtues and the ethical system which they constitute are all founded on the spiritual system revealed in the Qur'ān which is essentially related to ***imān*** in Allah. As we have said earlier, this characteristic is the most important feature of Islamic morality. It guarantees the grasp of the human soul by these values and ideals, as well as saves that system from all corruption. Morality founded upon utility and mutual advantage is quickly corrupted as soon as the moral subject is convinced that his personal advantage does not suffer in consequence of his immorality. In such morality, it is most often the case that the subject is double-faced, showing an appearance different from what he holds deep within him. He would, for instance, seek to appear trustworthy while giving himself the right to use another's confidence as a means for increasing his advantage. He would seek to appear truthful but would not restrain from false pretense as long as this added to his advantage. A morality founded upon such standards falls down as the winds of temptation begin to blow. Its subject is often found pursuing ulterior motives and ever running after the satisfaction of his own prejudices.

This essential moral weakness is most conspicuous in our present-day world. How often have we heard of great scandals occurring in this or that part of the civilized world, scandals all traceable to the pursuit of wealth and power on the part of their subjects, and on the weakness of their will to possess true iman. and noble morals. Many of these people who fall to the nethermost depths in morality and perpetrate the worst crimes have started out with high morals based upon utilitarianism. They regarded success in life as based upon the observance of these high morals; and so they observed them in order to

succeed, not because moral practice is a necessary part of their personal path which they ought to follow even though it might incur serious disadvantage. Hence, when they realized that some deviation from moral uprightness did in fact bring forth a measure of success within the civilization of this age, they allowed themselves to swerve. Many of them have been able to keep their personal code of behavior hidden from the public and, therefore, have never been exposed to scandal. They continue to be respected and esteemed. Others, less adept, have been exposed and have fallen into scandalous involvements which often have ended in personal ruin or suicide.

To found morality on utility and advantage, therefore, is to expose it to eventual but certain calamity. On the other hand, to found it on a spiritual system such as the Qur'ān has revealed is to guarantee its permanent strength, its moving appeal, and power to determine man's ethics. The intention behind a deed is itself the measure of its moral worth, the genuine rubbing stone against which it should be tested. The man who buys a lottery ticket designed to build a hospital does not buy it with the intention of doing good and being charitable but in pursuit of material gain. Such act is not moral. Likewise, the man who gives to the insistent beggar in order to rid himself of the nuisance caused, is not on a par with the man who gives to the poor who not only do not insist when they ask, but do not ask at all out of a deep sense of dignity, shame, and self-respect. Furthermore, the man who tells the truth to the judge in fear of the punishment the law metes out to perjurers is not equivalent to the man who tells the truth because he believes in the virtue of truthfulness. A system of morals based upon utility and mutual advantage therefore cannot have the strength of a morality which the subject believes to be essentially related to his human dignity and to his ***imān*** in Allah, a morality founded upon the spiritual system on which his ***imān*** in Allah is itself founded.

The Wisdom of Prohibition of Alcohol and Gambling in Islam

The Qur'ān, seeking to preserve the jurisdiction of reason in morality, thus has kept morality immune to all that might vitiate its judgment in matters of faith or morals. Consequently, it has regarded alcohol and gambling as anathema, the inspiration of the devil. Even though they might bring some advantage in their wake, their crime and evil are greater than their advantage; hence, they ought to be avoided. Gambling, for instance, takes such possession of the mind of the gambler that its victim can think of nothing else and can make no Other use of his time. It tempts him away from the fulfillment of any moral obligation. On the other hand, alcohol dissolves reason as well as wealth, to use the terms of 'Umar ibn al Khattab when he prayed that Allah might reveal His judgment in its regard. It is natural for the mind to err in its judgment when intoxicated; it is easy for the mind, once it has gone astray, to tolerate the pursuit of crime and evil instead of warning man against them.

The Qur'ān and Science

The ethical system of the ideal state revealed in the Qur'ān does not deprive man of the enjoyments of the good things of life, precisely because both privation and overindulgence may lead to the same consequences: neglect of the cosmos as a whole and of the pursuit of cosmic knowledge. The Islamic system strongly rejects man's total surrender to enjoyment of affluence and comfort even as it rejects his surrender to privation and abstinence in which he loses himself in subjective psychic pursuits. On the contrary, Islam seeks to make its people a community of the golden mean, to orient them toward pure virtue, to develop

their knowledge of the cosmos, and to master all that it contains. The Qur'ān continually speaks of the cosmos and of what it contains in a way directing us toward increasing our knowledge of it. It speaks about the new moons, about the sun and the moon, day and night, the earth and the creatures that roam over it, the sky and the stars which adorn it, the sea whose surface is crisscrossed with ships sailing in pursuit of Allah's bounty, of the animals we take as beasts of burden and others as ornaments, and of all that the earth contains for knowledge and art. In speaking about all these, the Qur'ān asks man not only to look into them and study them but to enjoy their effects and to feel grateful to Allah for His bounty. With such discipline as the Qur'ān has enjoined, and by following its insistent call to seek cosmic knowledge, man may fufill his destiny. If he responds to the call of the Qur'ān and fulfills its requisite rational contemplation of the cosmos, he bases his economic and social system upon solid and worthy foundations.

The Islamic Economic System

Were economic and social systems to be based upon such moral and spiritual foundations, man would be able both to achieve happiness and to put an end to human suffering and misery on earth. The high ethical principles which the Qur'ān poses as the very content of its creed, as well as its faith, command men to remove any shortcoming or misery in the world which it is possible to remove. A person disciplined by these principles and gripped by their ethic will condemn selfish interests, the basis of present economic life and the source of misery for all mankind. That is why Islam categorically forbids charging interest for loans. Allah said,

﴿ ٱلَّذِينَ يَأْكُلُونَ ٱلرِّبَوٰاْ لَا يَقُومُونَ إِلَّا كَمَا يَقُومُ ٱلَّذِى يَتَخَبَّطُهُ ٱلشَّيْطَٰنُ مِنَ ٱلْمَسِّ ﴿٢٧٥﴾ ﴾ سورة البقرة آية ٢٧٥

(Those who devour usury will not stand except as stands one whom the Satan by his touch has driven to madness.) (Al-Baqarah: 275)

Further, the Qur'an says,

﴿ وَمَآ ءَاتَيْتُم مِّن رِّبًا لِّيَرْبُوَاْ فِىٓ أَمْوَٰلِ ٱلنَّاسِ فَلَا يَرْبُواْ عِندَ ٱللَّهِ ۖ وَمَآ ءَاتَيْتُم مِّن زَكَوٰةٍ تُرِيدُونَ وَجْهَ ٱللَّهِ فَأُوْلَٰٓئِكَ هُمُ ٱلْمُضْعِفُونَ ﴿٣٩﴾ ﴾

سورة الروم آية ٣٩

(That which you give in usury for increase through the property of (other) people, will have no increase with Allah: but that which you give for charity, seeking the Countenance of Allah, (will increase): it is these who will get a recompense multiplied.) (Ar-Rum: 39)

The Evils of the interest System

The prohibition of interest is a basic principle of Islamic civilization. It guarantees and safeguards the happiness of mankind. In its least offensive sense, interest is a system which enables the unproductive man to share in the fruits of someone else's labor for no reason but that he lent him money. The argument advanced in its favor is that the money lent enabled the producer to produce his fruits and that without it, it would not have been possible for the producer to earn what he did. Even if

this advantage were the only consequence of interest, it would not be justified. For, were the money lender capable of usufructing his money for himself, he would not have lent it to someone else. And were that money to remain in its coffer, it would not produce any fruits at all. Rather, it would probably be gradually consumed by its owner. If, therefore, the capitalist allows another man to usufruct his money, hoping thereby to win a share ***in*** its fruits, he should certainly be entitled to a share of the fruits—should there be such—rather than imposing a definite interest charge for his money. If the operation proves successful and economically profitable, the owner of the capital should receive the share agreed upon. If it should turn out to be a failure and a loss, however, then he, too, should share a proportionate part of the burden. On the other hand, to impose a definite interest charge for the use of capital regardless of whether or not the use of such capital has been productive is illegitimate exploitation.

It is futile to object here that capital is entitled to its rent because it is used like any other commodity, be it a piece of land or a mule, and that interest is really the equivalent of rent. The renting of movable and immovable property is vastly different from renting money; the latter may bring about mutual benefit and usufruct as well as pure exploitation and crime. Man does not rent a piece of land, a house, a beast of burden, or any immovable property except in order to use it to his advantage. Otherwise, he is insane, and his commitments are not responsible. It is otherwise with money. Money is for the most part lent for purposes of trade. But trade is always exposed to profit and loss. The renting of immovable or movable property is hardly ever exposed to loss except in rare, indeed exceptional, cases falling outside the realm of normal legislation. Where it does happen that the rent of movable or immovable property exposes the user to loss, the legislator usually intervenes between the landowner and the lessees in order to relieve such injustice

and prevent exploitation by the landowner. Such has been the repeated practice of the world everywhere. On the other hand, the imposition of a definite interest rate of seven or nine percent, more or less, is not affected by whether the usufruct of the money in question has realized a profit or a loss. Where the result of the usufruct is a loss, to demand the interest is surely to commit a crime. It is on this account that hatred and immoral competition arise between men in place of fraternity and love. This source of misery is the primary cause of the repeated crises which the world community has been witnessing in recent times.

The foregoing is perhaps the least offensive description of interest. In other pictures the money lender is better compared to a wild beast rather than to anything human. Consider the case of the man who needs money for a purpose other than production. It is possible that a man may fall in need and seek financial assistance to feed himself and his family for an interval, pending his finding a job or his engaging in some productive activity. To come to the assistance of such a man is one of the first duties of humanity. This is precisely what the holy Qur'ān demands. Is not the charging of interest in such cases a heinous crime, an offense deserving the same punishment as murder? And is it not a crime still more sinister to tempt those who are not shrewd in the management of their own affairs in order to get them to borrow money on interest and thereby rob them of the little wealth they possess? To tempt and to trap a man with interest is no less a crime than the lowliest theft. Surely it deserves the same if not greater punishment.

Interest and Colonialism

It was interest and the demand for the profit it entails to the lender which engulfed the world in all the calamities of colonialism. In most cases, colonialism began with a number of

capitalists, whether individuals or corporations, lending money to the colonized at interest and infiltrating the colony's system with the aim of gaining control over its resources. When the borrowing people woke up and sought to liberate themselves from the money lender's clutches, the creditors appealed to their own governments to intervene and protect what then came to be called their national interest. The latter then arrived with their armies and fleets and imposed themselves as colonial powers seeking to protect the interests of their own citizens. The colonial power then imposed its rule, deprived the people of their liberty and began to control whatever Allah gave the people of His bounty in their own land. Their happiness thus vanished. Misery, suffering, and poverty engulfed them. Ignorance and misguidance stifled their minds. Their morals deteriorated and their ***imän*** became dissolute. They thus fell below the level of humanity and reached a degree of inferiority that no man believing in Allah would accept for himself. No man believing that Allah alone is worthy of worship will allow his fate to be so controlled by someone else as to bring about his own loss and suffering.

Colonialism is indeed the source of wars. It is the source of the misery which has befallen the whole of mankind in the present age. As long as interest is legitimate and real, as long as it is the basis of economic life and colonialism the dominant factor in international relations, there is no hope for the establishment of fraternity and love. Such a condition cannot be reached unless civilization is rebuilt upon the foundation which Islam has provided and which Revelation has recorded in the Qur'an.

Islamic Socialism

The Qur'ān also contains a system of socialism which has never yet been the object of research. It is a socialism which is

not based on the competition of capital or class war, as the socialism of western civilization today. Rather it is based on moral principles guaranteeing fraternity between the classes and fostering mutual security and cooperation for the good and felicity of their members instead of crime and transgression. It is relatively easy to appreciate this Qur'ānic socialism based upon brotherhood and institutionized in ***zakāt*** and charity. It does not allow one class to dominate another or one group to impose its will upon another. The civilization depicted in the Qur'ān knows no such dominion or imposition. It rests entirely upon genuine fraternity deriving from unswerving ***iman*** in Allah, a conviction which makes the recognition of Allah tantamount to giving to the poor and the deprived that which they need by way of nourishment, clothing, shelter, medicine, education, and upbringing, without even making them feel that they have been the object of charity. Under this system, misery will vanish and men may hope Allah will complete His bounty and grant them the happiness they desire.

No Abolition of Private Property

Islamic socialism does not demand the annulment of private property, as is the case with western socialism. The facts are that even in Bolshevik Russia, as well as in any socialist country, the doing away with private property has not been fruitful. On the other hand, it goes without saying that all public utilities should become common property for the people. The definition of public utilities should be left for the state to conclude. As may he expected, men may disagree on such definition, as was the case in the first century of Islam. Some of the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) companions demanded that all the creations of Allah should be included in the definition of public utilities. They regarded the land and all that it contained on a par with water and air, and

thus not subject to becoming the property of anyone. They regarded every man as entitled to its fruits in proportion to his effort and capacity. Other companions saw the question differently. They deemed the land capable of becoming the property of individuals and, like the immovable properties, capable of being exchanged.

The Final Groundwork of Islamic Socialism

At any rate, one basic socialist principle that was agreed upon by all the Prophet's (P.B.U.H) companions is passing today as a matter of course in the socialist countries of Europe: that every man ***is*** duty-bound to put to full use all his capacities for the sake of the community; and that ***is*** the duty of the community to guarantee to every individual all his basic needs. Every Muslim was entitled to draw from the public treasury all that was required to satisfy his survival needs and those of his family as long as he did not find work to do, or as long as the work he did was not sufficient to satisfy these wants. As long as morality is governed by the principles of the Qur'ān, no one may tell a lie and claim that he is out of work when in reality he is just lazy and unwilling to exert himself. Nor will anyone claim falsely that his income is insufficient. In the first century of Islam, the caliphs and leaders of the Muslim community took it upon themselves to inspect the conditions of their subjects in order to insure themselves that no basic need remained unsatisfied.

Socialism Is Brotherhood

From this basic discussion, the reader will realize that the socialism of Islam is not a socialism of capital and distribution but one founded upon fraternity in the spiritual, moral, and

economic spheres of life. If a person's ***imān*** is not regarded as complete until that person has wished for his fellow that which he wishes for himself, it can be deduced safely that no ***imān*** is complete unless its subject has urged the feeding of the hungry and has spent privately and publicly of what Allah has provided, with a view to serving the commonweal. The more altruistic a person becomes, the closer he comes to realizing internal peace and happiness. If Allah has so constituted men that some stand above others in capacities and achievements, and if Allah has given of his bounty differently to whomsoever He chooses, it is certain that there will be no end to evil in this world until the young respects the older, the older shows mercy to the younger, the richer gives to the poorer, and all have done so purely for the sake of Allah and in praise of Him as well as of His bounty.

It is not necessary in this connection to give the details of the laws of inheritance, of wills, of contracts, trade, and other areas of the Qur'ānic economic system. Even the briefest reference to any one of these topics, whether social or jurisprudential, would require many more chapters. It is sufficient to note that the contribution of Islam in any one of these fields is still unsurpassed by any other kind of legislation. Indeed, one can only react with surprise when he considers some of the details of this Islamic contribution-e.g., the command always to write down one's contracts unless it be a case of irreversible trade; the arbitration of disputes between husband and wife by representatives of either party in order to avoid dissolution of the marriage; the commandment to reconcile any two disputing factions within the state and to all the Muslims to fight that faction which resists the efforts, judgment or instrument of reconciliation. One is surprised at the novelty of such provisions of Islamic law. And when compared with the provisions of other bodies of law, one invariably reaches the conclusion that that legislation is indeed the highest which has sought to fulfill the Qur'ānic principles. It should, however, surprise no one-con-

sidering that the foregoing principles regarding interest and Islamic socialism are the bases of the Qur'ānic economic system and that this legislation is the highest that has ever been reached by man in any period-that Islamic civilization is not only truly worthy of mankind but is also the only one that can guarantee man's happiness.

Probable Western Objections

After reading our presentation of the bases and structure of Qur'ānic civilization, some western writers may deem them too utopian to be fulfilled by man and, hence, not destined to endure even when successfully realized. Such thinkers hold man to be motivated by fear and hope, prejudice and pressure, just like any other animal except that man adds to his equipment the faculty of speech. To expect humanity to follow a system such as that provided by Islam for civilization is either impossible or extremely difficult. The utmost that we may expect in ordering the life of human society is the regulation of human passion and greed and the orientation of human fear and hope from the economic aspect alone. What is beyond these desiderata is beyond the capacity of human society. The Islamic system, formulated by the Qur'ān and described in this chapter, did not survive in Islamic history beyond the days of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and his immediate successors. This phenomenon constitutes for these thinkers further proof of the utopian nature of that system and its not having enveloped the world. They cite this failure to survive and to spread itself over the world as proof of its unfitness.

Refutation

To refute this claim, it is sufficient to note the acknowledgment of its adherents that the Islamic system was indeed realized during the period of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and that of his immediate successors. Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was indeed the highest exemplar of that system and his application of it the highest instance of its feasibility. His immediate successors followed his example and carried his own application of it to perfection. Under the influence of various Israelitisms and provincialisms," that system was gradually dissolved by intrigue and corruption. Slowly but surely, men allowed material considerations to overrule the spiritual, and animal passion to elbow out the humane until mankind reached the situation of the present day in which it suffers from the most terrible miseries.

The Example of Muhammad (P.B.U.H)

Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) example was the best application of Islamic civilization as elaborated in the Qur'ān. From this work, the reader may remember how the Prophet (P.B.U.H) extended his fraternity to all men without distinction. In Makkah, he regarded himself and his fellows absolutely on a par in poverty and suffering. Indeed, he assumed the greater share of privation and suffering for their sake. When he emigrated to Madinah, he established this fraternity between the Muhājirūn and Ansār so firmly that he granted the privileges and obligations incumbent upon real blood relationship to all. In that period, the fraternity of believers was based upon mutual love and the common will to raise the foundations of the new civilization. It was fed and reinforced by a genuine ***imān*** in Allah, a faith and a conviction whose strength carried Muhammad (P.B.U.H) to communion with Allah Himself—May He be adored. At the campaign of

Badr, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) called upon Allah to give him the promised victory and prayed to Him saying, that should the Muslims be defeated at Badr, Allah would not be worshipped in Arabia. This is strong evidence of that communion with the Divine. Indeed, many such stands which Muhammad (P.B.U.H) took on other occasions point to his constant communion with Allah. These were moments other than those of Revelation. It was this communion with the Divine based on his true ***imān*** in Allah which enabled Muhammad (P.B.U.H) not to fear death but, indeed, to seek it. This was only as it should be, for the man of genuine conviction never fears death but welcomes it. Every life has a term, and death will reach its object wherever it may be. No man may escape. It was this conviction that enabled Muhammad (P.B.U.H) to stand firmly on his ground when the Muslims ran away in panic at the outbreak of hostilities at Hunayn. When practically surrounded with death, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) paid no attention to it and called his men to rally forth around him. It was this ***imān*** that made him give liberally without fear of poverty or privation and enabled him to do good to the orphan, the wayfarer, the deprived, and the suffering. In brief, it enabled him to rise to the highest pinnacle of every Qur'ānic virtue. All this, as well as the Muslims' close observance of his example in the first period of their history, caused Islam to spread in the years immediately following the death of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and to establish itself by planting the seeds of Islamic civilization in every land. Finally, it was this ***imān*** that transformed corrupt and decadent peoples into strong and progressive states seeking knowledge and advancement, discovering the secrets of the universe, and developing creativity in every field of human endeavor. These same states can vie successfully even with the accomplishments of the modern age, the so-called 'Age of Light and Science,' an age so unsuccessful in bringing about happiness to mankind because of an ***iman*** weak in Allah and strong in matter.

The Misguided 'Ulamā'

However, like any other civilization of Western Asia and Europe, Islamic civilization was corrupted by the prejudices engendered by provincialism or Israelitism. This corruption is attributable to the fact that a number of ***'ulama,*** who are normally expected to be the heirs of the Prophets, preferred power to the truth, worldly glory to virtue, and used their knowledge and leadership to misguide the community of the people and their young in the same way as do the ***'ulama'*** of this age. Such ***'ulamā'*** however are the devil's associates. Upon them will fall the greatest responsibility on the Day of Judgment. It is the first duty of every modern ***'alim,*** true to Allah and to his knowledge, to fight the misguiding ***'ulama'*** and combat the evil propaganda they spread. If such ***'ulamā'*** have any kind of place in Christendom where the church and science have to fight each other and compete for power, they have utterly no place in the Islamic world where religion and science are close associates, where religion without science is deemed unbelief and ungodly, and where science without religion is deemed delusion. Had mankind entered into the civilization of Islam as the Qur'ān depicts it, had the Mongols not destroyed its great centers, and had the insincere converts to Islam not taken their Islam as a means for subjecting the community of Muslims to their dominion, a dominion based on the opposite of Islamic fraternity, the world would have had a different destiny. Mankind would not have been subject to the miseries it finds itself under today.

Islamic Civilization and the present time

I am nonetheless certain that Qur'ānic civilization will conquer the world if a group of ***'ulamā'*** rise today to call for it in

a progressive, open, and scientific manner. This civilization addresses itself to both the heart and reason. It appeals to all men and to all people: no vested interests and no prejudices will be able to prevent their movement toward it. Nor is it required that such ***'ulamā'*** have any more than a genuine ***imān,*** and that they sincerely call men to Allah. Then will mankind find their happiness in this fraternity in Allah as they found it in the Prophet's time (P.B.U.H).

The accomplishments of the period of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and of that of his immediate successors constitute evidence for my claim, advanced in the preface to this work, that scientific research into the spiritual revolution which Muhammad (P.B.U.H) initiated in this world will guide mankind to the new civilization toward which it has been groping. There is no doubt whatever in this regard.

Western men of knowledge object to this claim by deploring the spirit dominating Islamic civilization. On the basis of these objections, they accuse Islam of causing the decay and degradation of the Muslim peoples. The most important of these objections is the claim that the determinism of Islam weakens the will of its people, disables them from participating in the struggle for existence, and brings about their decadence and subjugation. To expose the falsity of this claim and other claims will be the purpose of the second essay in this conclusion.

II. ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION AND THE WESTERN ORIENTALISTS

Irving and Islamic Determinism

Washington Irving, one of the greatest writers the United States of America produced in the nineteenth century, is a real credit to his people. He has written a biography of the Arab Prophet (P.B.U.H) in which the material is presented in an eloquent and captivating manner. Although his treatment is well taken at times, it is prejudiced at others. His book ends with a conclusion in which he presents the principles of Islam and what he has taken to be the historical sources of those principles. After mentioning ***iman*** in Allah, in His angels, Books, prophets, and the Day of Judgment, Washington Irving wrote:

"The sixth and last article of the Islam faith is predestination, and on this Muhammad (P.B.U.H) evidently reposed his chief dependence for the success of his military enterprises. He inculcated that every event had been predetermined by Allah, and written down in the eternal tablet previous to the creation of the world. That the destiny of every individual and the hour of his death were irrevocably fixed, and could neither be varied nor evaded by any effort of human sagacity or foresight. Under this persuasion the Moslems engaged in battle without risk; and, as death in battle was equivalent to martyrdom, and entitled them to an immediate admission into paradise, they had in either alternative, death or victory, a certainty of gain.

"This doctrine, according to which men by their own free will can neither avoid sin nor avert punishment, is con-sidered by many Mussulmen as derogatory to the justice and clemency of Allah: and several sects have sprung up, who endeavor to soften and explain away this perplexing dogma; but the number of these doubters is small, and they are not considered orthodox.

"The doctrine of Predestination was one of those timely revelations to Muhammad (P.B.U.H) that were almost miraculous from their seasonable occurrence. It took place immediately after the disastrous battle of Uhud, in which many of his followers, and among them his uncle Hamza, were slain. Then it was, in a moment of gloom and despondency, when his followers around him were disheartened, that he promulgated this law, telling them that every man must die at the appointed hour, whether in bed or in the field of battle. He declared, moreover, that the angel Gabriel had announced to him the reception of Hamza into the seventh heaven, with the title of Lion of Allah and of the Prophet (P.B.U.H). He added, as he contemplated the dead bodies, 'I am witness for these, and for all who have been slain for the cause of Allah, that they shall appear in glory at the resurrection, with their wounds brilliant as vermilion and odoriferous as musk.

"What doctrine could have been devised more calculated to hurry forward, in a wild career of conquest, a set of ignorant and predatory soldiers, than assurance of booty if they survived, and paradise if they fell? It rendered almost irresistible the Moslem arms; but it likewise contained the poison that was to destroy their dominion. From the moment the successors of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) ceased to be aggressors and conquerors, and sheathed the sword definitely, the doctrine of predestination began its baneful work. Enervated by peace, and the sensuality permitted by the Koran—which so distinctly separates its doctrine from the pure and self-denying religion of the Messiah—the Moslem regarded every reverse as preordained by Allah, and inevitable:

to be borne stoically, since human exertion and foresight were vain. 'Help yourself and Allah will help you,' was a precept never in force with the followers of Muhammad (P.B.U.H); and its reverse has been their fate. The crescent has waned before the cross, and exists in Europe, where it was once so mighty, only by the suffrage, or rather the jealously of the great Christian powers, probably ere long to furnish another illustration, that 'they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.

Falsity of Irving's Criticism

These are the words of Washington Irving. They are the words of a man whose study fell short of grasping the spirit of Islam and of its civilization. Hence, his false interpretation of the problem of Divine providence and predestination. Perhaps Irving had some excuse in that some of the Islamic books which he may have read do in fact point in the direction of his interpretation. As for the Qur'ān, the dictum "Allah helps them that help themselves" is far too weak to be even comparable to its emphatic call for self-reliance, its thunderous warning that men will receive exactly what their deeds and intentions had earned for them. Allah said:

﴿ قُلْ يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلنَّاسُ قَدْ جَآءَكُمُ ٱلْحَقُّ مِن رَّبِّكُمْ ۖ فَمَنِ ٱهْتَدَىٰ فَإِنَّمَا يَهْتَدِى لِنَفْسِهِۦ ۖ وَمَن ضَلَّ فَإِنَّمَا يَضِلُّ عَلَيْهَا ﴿١٠٨﴾ ﴾

سورة يونس آية ١٠٨

(Say: "O you men! Now Truth has reached you from your Lord! those who receive Guidance, do so for the good of their own souls: those who stray, do so to their own loss: and I am not (set) over you to arrange your affairs.)

(Yunus: 108)

In another passage Allah said:

﴿ مَّنِ ٱهْتَدَىٰ فَإِنَّمَا يَهْتَدِى لِنَفْسِهِۦ ۖ وَمَن ضَلَّ فَإِنَّمَا يَضِلُّ عَلَيْهَا ۚ وَلَا تَزِرُ وَازِرَةٌ وِزْرَ أُخْرَىٰ ۗ وَمَا كُنَّا مُعَذِّبِينَ حَتَّىٰ نَبْعَثَ رَسُولًا ﴿١٥﴾ ﴾

سورة الإسراء آية ١٥

(Who receives guidance, receives it for his own benefit: who goes astray does so to his own loss: no bearer of burdens can bear the burden of another: nor would We Punish until We had sent a Messenger (to give warning).) (Al-Isra': 15)

﴿ مَن كَانَ يُرِيدُ حَرْثَ ٱلْآخِرَةِ نَزِدْ لَهُۥ فِى حَرْثِهِۦ ۖ وَمَن كَانَ يُرِيدُ حَرْثَ ٱلدُّنْيَا نُؤْتِهِۦ مِنْهَا وَمَا لَهُۥ فِى ٱلْآخِرَةِ مِن نَّصِيبٍ ﴿٢٠﴾ ﴾

سورة الشورى آية ٢٠

(To any that desires the tilth of the Hereafter, We give increase in his tilth: and to any that desires the tilth of this world, We grant somewhat thereof, but he has no share or lot in the Hereafter.) (Ash-Shura': 20)

﴿ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ لَا يُغَيِّرُ مَا بِقَوْمٍ حَتَّىٰ يُغَيِّرُوا۟ مَا بِأَنفُسِهِمْ ﴿١١﴾ ﴾

سورة الرعد آية ١١

(Verily never will Allah change the condition of a people until they change what is in themselves) (Al-Ra'd: 11)

The Qur'ān and Determinism

It is, therefore, a clearly Qur'ānic position that man's will and action are the sole determinants of his worth, of his punishment or reward. Emphatically, Allah has urged man to go forth into the world to seek its fruits and to enjoy them. He commanded self-exertion in His cause in very strong terms as may be seen from many verses quoted in this book. This is all irreconcilable with Irving's claim, which has been repeated by a number of other westerners, that Islam is a religion of lethargy and reliance, that it teaches its adherents that they can in no way influence whatever befalls them, whether good or evil, and hence that there is no point in their trying to do so. This claim argues that will and efficacy are exclusive prerogatives of Allah: that man's efforts come to naught when the Divine decree orders otherwise; and that if it were decreed that somebody would become rich, strong, or a believer, this would surely come to pass without any effort or action on his part. The verses we have already cited all run counter to these claims.

It may also be possible that these western writers and thinkers attribute the lethargy and reliance of the Muslims in the recent period of their history to the Qur'ānic verses which pertain to Divine providence in the manner of the following:

﴿ وَمَا كَانَ لِنَفْسٍ أَن تَمُوتَ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِ ٱللَّهِ كِتَـٰبًا مُّؤَجَّلًا ﴿١٤٥﴾ ﴾
سورة آل عمران آية ١٤٥

(Nor can a soul die except by Allah's leave, the term being fixed as by writing.) (Al-Imran: 145)

﴿ وَلِكُلِّ أُمَّةٍ أَجَلٌ فَإِذَا جَآءَ أَجَلُهُمْ لَا يَسْتَأْخِرُونَ سَاعَةً وَلَا يَسْتَقْدِمُونَ ﴿٣٤﴾ ﴾ سورة الأعراف آية ٣٤

(To every people is a term appointed: when their term is reached, not an hour can they cause delay, nor (an hour) can they advance (it in anticipation). (Al-A'raf: 34)

﴿ مَآ أَصَابَ مِن مُّصِيبَةٍ فِى ٱلْأَرْضِ وَلَا فِىٓ أَنفُسِكُمْ إِلَّا فِى كِتَـٰبٍ مِّن قَبْلِ أَن نَّبْرَأَهَآ ۚ إِنَّ ذَٰلِكَ عَلَى ٱللَّهِ يَسِيرٌ ﴿٢٢﴾ ﴾
سورة الحديد آية ٢٢

(No misfortune can happen on earth or in your souls but is recorded in a Book before We bring it into existence: that is truly easy for Allah:) (Al-Hadid: 22)

﴿ قُل لَّن يُصِيبَنَآ إِلَّا مَا كَتَبَ ٱللَّهُ لَنَا هُوَ مَوْلَىٰنَا ۚ وَعَلَى ٱللَّهِ فَلْيَتَوَكَّلِ ٱلْمُؤْمِنُونَ ﴿٥١﴾ ﴾ سورة التوبة آية ٥١

(Say: "Nothing will happen to us except what Allah has decreed for us: He is our Protector": and on Allah let the Believers put their trust.) (At-Tawbah: 51)

But if this is the line of their reasoning, then they have misunderstood the meanings of these verses and others like them. Misunderstanding these verses, they think Islam calls for resignation, whereas the Qur'ān meant to stress the solid bond between Allah and His dedicated servants. The fact is that Islam is a religion which calls for exactly the opposite, for dynamism and personal initiative, self-exertion and sacrifice, self-respect and dignity, while it founds its civilization on brotherhood and mercy. Islam is the one religion which does so ***par excellence!***

Scientific Determinism

As a matter of fact, these and like verses point to a scientific truth recognized by most western philosophers and men of science in which determinism is ascribed to the general pattern of the cosmos as a whole rather than to Allah, the Almighty and Omniscient. This view is narrower, more rigid, and less amenable to the good of mankind than the philosophic view deducible from the Qur'ān, as we shall see in the sequel. Scientific determinism teaches that man has no freedom except in the narrowest and most insignificant fields and that this little freedom is relative and is evident only as a practical consequence of social needs, but not from any established scientific or philosophical reality. It is not a principle but a provision. For without some provision for freedom of choice, it would be impossible for society to find a basis for its legislation, for the regulations it imposes on all its members under threat of criminal and civil sanction. True, some men of science and jurisprudence do not regard punishment or sanction as based on either determinism or on freedom, and they explain punishment as a response on the part of society to the need for self-preservation, just as an individual would react for his own self-preservation. It is all one for society when it reacts in self-preservation, whether the individual criminal has been free or determined in the perpetration of his crime. Nonetheless, freedom of action is still the foundation for most jurists. Their evidence therefor is the principle that the person devoid of freedom and choice, such as the insane, the child, and the moron, are never judged as the conscious man who distinguishes between good and evil.

If we go beyond these practical considerations of legislation and jurisprudence to reach a scientific and philosophical principle, we are led to conclude in favor of determinism. No man, for instance, has any choice as to the period in which he is born, nor of the nation, community, environment, nor parents to

whom he is born. Just as no man chooses his parents, no man chooses them as poor or rich, perfect or imperfect; neither has he chosen his sex nor the happenings which surround his life and determine it to any great extent. The French philosopher Hyppolite Taine expressed this view with the dictum, "Man is the product of his environment." Many philosophers and scientists have adopted this view, insisting that if it were possible to know the laws and secrets of human life to the same extent as we have discovered the laws of movement of the heavenly bodies, it would become possible to predict precisely the destiny of every man and nation, just as astronomers predict with precision an eclipse of the sun or of the moon.

All this notwithstanding, no one in the West or in the East has claimed that this determinist view prevents man from seeking success in life or the nations of the world from bringing themselves up to a position of affluence and prosperity. No one claims that this determinist view leads to the deterioration and decadence of the people who believe in it. This fact remains true in spite of the westerner's subscription to determinism as not being counteracted by such strong religious pronouncements as the Qur'ānic verses quoted in this chapter, which assert that "Man acquires nothing but what he himself has earned; none of his deeds is lost and each will count on the Day of Judgment." This point alone constitutes evidence that the western Orientalists' claim that determinism in Islam had led to the deterioration and decay of the Muslim peoples is nothing but a piece of sheer prejudice.

Rather, the determinism of Islam stresses far more than that of the West the need for self-exertion and personal initiative in the actualization of material and ethical values. Both systems are agreed that the cosmos has immutable patterns to which everything in the world is necessarily subject and that man is as subject to these patterns as is all of nature. Further, western determinism subjects man to determination by his environment

and inheritance from his parents to such a degree that no escape from natural law is possible. It subjects man's will to this determination so that it is impossible for man to change himself. On the other hand, the Qur'ān calls upon every man to govern his will by the judgment of reason and to orient it toward the ethical good. It teaches that even if the good has been predetermined to be the consequence of man's given endeavor, man cannot reach it haphazardly or without effort.

The Absolute Need for Deliberate Self-Change

Allah the Almighty said,

﴿ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ لَا يُغَيِّرُ مَا بِقَوْمٍ حَتَّىٰ يُغَيِّرُوا۟ مَا بِأَنفُسِهِمْ ﴾

سورة الرعد آية ١١

(Verily never will Allah change the condition of a people until they change what is in themselves) (Al-Ra'd: 11)

It is hence within the capacity of men to think out and to ponder their course in life once Allah has guided them to their duties. Allah does this by means of His revealed Books, by His prophets who show men the road of goodness and truth or by calling men to look into the universe in order to grasp its laws and the will of Allah imperative therein, by stirring within them the innate will to know. Whoever believes that the final disposition is Allah's, and directs himself toward it, will not reach except that which Allah had predetermined for him. If, therefore, it has been predetermined for a man to fall on the battlefield of truth and goodness that Allah commanded us to realize, such man has no reason to fear. He and the like of him live with their Lord and enjoy His bounty. What philosophy of progress, advancement and self-exertion, and freedom of the will

compares with this philosophy of Islam? Where in it is the lethargic reliance upon fate which Irving and his fellow Orientalists claim?

Tawakkul, or lethargic reliance upon Allah, has nothing to do with ***tawakkul,*** or trust in Allah. Trust in Allah does not consist in man's lethargic immobility and lack of response to the commandment of his Lord but in the serious and active pursuit of that commandment. That is why Allah says,

﴿ فَإِذَا عَزَمْتَ فَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى ٱللَّهِ ﴾ سورة آل عمران آية ١٥٩

(Then, when you have taken a decision, put your trust in Allah.) (Al-Imran: 159)

Resolution and will, therefore, must precede ***Tawakkul*** or trust in Allah. Indeed, when a man does resolve to put his trust in Allah, he will surely reach his objective by Allah's grace. We may even say that if man seeks Allah's sake alone, if he fears Him alone, and if he follows His path alone, he will reach the good by reason of Allah's necessary pattern in the cosmos. This Divine pattern, it must be remembered, is immutable and necessary. In his pursuit of the good, therefore, man must reach his objective since that is the pattern of Allah in the cosmos regardless of whether he survives his pursuit or perishes in the process. The good thus achieved by man is from Allah The bad that he achieves is his own work, earned by following a path other than Allah's. The good is all in Allah's hands; evil and misguidance are both the inspiration of the devil and his handwork.

As for Allah's knowledge of all that happened in the world before its creation, the fact is that

﴿ لَا يَعْزُبُ عَنْهُ مِثْقَالُ ذَرَّةٍ فِي ٱلسَّمَٰوَٰتِ وَلَا فِي ٱلْأَرْضِ وَلَآ أَصْغَرُ مِن ذَٰلِكَ وَلَآ أَكْبَرُ إِلَّا فِي كِتَٰبٍ مُّبِينٍ ﴾

سورة سبأ آية ٣

(Whom is not hidden the least little atom in the Heavens or on earth: nor is there anything less than that, or greater, but is in the Record Perspicuous) (Saba':3)

This statement simply means that Allah has provided for creation immutable patterns necessarily followed by everything which is or happens therein. And if, as we said earlier, scientists claim that positive science can predict the future of every individual and every nation with certainty if the secrets and laws of human life be known, just as it is possible to predict the eclipse of the sun or the moon, we should also admit that faith in Allah demands that we stand ever certain of His knowledge of everything before creation. An engineer who lays down a plan for a house or a palace and observes this plan in the erection of the building, knows how long the building will stand and what its various parts may suffer from exposure to the elements.

Likewise, economists claim that their knowledge of economic laws enables them to predict with certainty any future prosperity or crisis in the economic life of the world. Once such an assertion is granted, then there is all the more reason to say that Allah does indeed know everything big or small in this world and that to deny Divine knowledge is unacceptable sophistry. Such knowledge of Allah, however, does not and need not prevent men from planning their own course of action, from exerting themselves in the pursuit of truth and goodness, or from seeking to avoid misguidance. The knowledge of Allah is not open to man. But man will reach and know the truth at the end, however distant that end may seem today. Allah has taken upon

Himself to show mercy. He accepts the repentance of His servants and is very forgiving. Since Allah's mercy envelops everything, man should not despair of receiving guidance to the truth and to the good as long as he constantly studies the universe and seeks to discover its laws. No man may despair of Allah's mercy, since his study of the cosmos will, in the final analysis; guide him to the path of Allah. But woe to him who denies his humanity, who is too proud to study the universe, and who fails to seek Allah's guidance! Such a man offends Allah and does not seek His face! Such a man has his heart and mind sealed! To him belongs hellfire and evil destiny!

Will then the western Orientalists see the loftiness of Islamic determinism and the wide scope it leaves open for human freedom of action? Will they realize the falsity of their claim that Islamic determinism demands self-immobilization, acceptance of humiliation, and satisfaction with submission to any but Allah? Certainly, Islamic determinism leaves the gate wide open for hope in Allah's mercy and forgiveness to anyone who repents and changes for better. What then becomes of their claim that Islamic determinism demands of the Muslim to regard whatever evil befalls him as an inscrutable Divine decree that he must suffer in patience, however damaging or humiliating it may be? Such a claim stands at the farthest possible remove from Islamic determinism, which calls upon man always to exert himself in the pursuit of Allah's pleasure and to trust in Allah only after he has resolved upon a course of action. If man does not achieve the good today, he is commanded to keep on striving that he may achieve it on the morrow. He should fix his hope upon Allah that He may guide his path, accept his repentance, and forgive him. In this hope, man has the best impulsion to continue his search, his exertion and his pursuit, and will hence come nearer to realizing the utmost level of Allah's pleasure, the God Whom he worships, Whose help he asks for, and Who is the source of all guidance and unto Whom everything shall return.

The strength of thought which these noble teachings provide is tremendous, and the wide horizons they lay open before them are breathtaking. They regard man as sure to reach the good if, in his action, he seeks nothing but the face of Allah: and in case man is led astray by the devil, his repentance is acceptable to Allah as long as his reason and judgment overwhelm his passion and return him to the straight path. The straight path is itself the pattern of Allah in creation, a pattern discoverable by reason and heart through investigation of Allah's creation and constant self-exertion in the search for nature's laws. If, despite all this assurance, some men continue not to recognize Allah, to spread corruption on earth, and to remain blind to the values of brotherhood and immune to their moving appeal, they will sooner or later come to tragedy. Their fate, however, would only constitute Allah's didactic example to the rest of mankind. That is the justice of Allah and His mercy to all, which are not affected by the erring of the misguided few who finally receive that which their misdeeds had earned for them.

But, it may be asked: Since every man's hour is written already, why do men act when they know that death is lying in wait for them, that when their term comes, their fate will be fulfilled on the hour? Why do men think and search, exert themselves and work when some are predetermined to happiness and felicity and others to suffering and misery? This is a repetition of the question which we have just answered. We are repeating it deliberately in order to raise another issue, namely that of man's last hour. That which Allah predetermined as man's last hour was indeed part of the pattern of the cosmos before there was even a cosmos, before Allah created the world by commanding it to be. This point is evidenced in the divine statement,

﴿ كَتَبَ رَبُّكُمْ عَلَىٰ نَفْسِهِ ٱلرَّحْمَةَ ﴾ سورة الأنعام آية ٥٤

(your Lord has inscribed for Himself (the rule of) Mercy:)

(Al-An'am: 54)

This statement means that mercy is an attribute of Allah and hence part of the cosmic pattern, not an exertion of His will. Allah says that

﴿ وَمَا كُنَّا مُعَذِّبِينَ حَتَّىٰ نَبْعَثَ رَسُولاً ﴾ سورة الإسراء آية ١٥

(nor would We Punish until We had sent a Messenger (to give warning).) (Al-Isra': 15)

If, therefore, a people have gone astray without Allah having sent them a prophet, the divine pattern prescribes that none of them shall suffer any punishment. Allah's knowledge of the effect of His pattern in the cosmos is evident to anyone who believes that Allah is the Creator of the cosmos. But if Allah does send a prophet to a certain people, and the cosmic pattern and Allah's will prescribe that some of them persist in going astray despite the call to wisdom and guidance, their evil is upon themselves and their suffering will be an example for the rest.

Misguidance Is Injustice to Oneself

It may not be claimed that those who persist in their misguidance have been punished or have suffered an injustice because their misguidance was predetermined for them. Such an assertion would be naive, not deceptive, because the least amount of reasoning leads to the conclusion that whoever goes astray does indeed do injustice to himself. To clarify this argument, it is sufficient for us to consider the example of the compassionate father of a child standing close to a fire. If the

child seeks to touch the fire, the father moves him away from it, explaining that it would burn him otherwise. But if he brings his child close to the fire again, the father would do so under the assumption that his child's fingers being burnt will give him a direct sensation of fire, a realization which will persist in his memory throughout his life. Once the child becomes an adult and touches the fire, or throws himself into it, he surely deserves the burns thus inflicted. His father is not to blame, and no one would expect the father to stand between his grown son and the fire in order to stop such a happening. A similar case is that of the father who explains to his son the evils of alcohol and of gambling. If, after attaining maturity, the child violates the commandment of his father and suffers for it, his father may not be declared unjust toward him, even though it may have been within his capability to prevent his son by force from drinking or gambling. Indeed, it would even be the duty of his father not to interfere and prevent such violation if the son's violation provides a moral and example to his brethren and relatives. If one considers as relatives and brethren the hundreds and thousands who inhabit the cities where temptations necessarily abound, it is good and just that some violators do suffer the consequences of their deeds so that the moral health of the community may be preserved, however regretful their personal suffering may be to the community. This example is an elementary case of justice as we apprehend it in our human community. How stronger should it be when we consider the universe as a whole, the millions upon millions of creatures in infinite space and time! Whatever punishment may fall upon any individual or people as the result of their injustice is indeed just in the purview of that vast cosmic picture which our imagination can hardly represent.

If we impute injustice to a father who leaves his erring son to meet the consequences which have been predetermined for his misconduct, we should impute injustice to ourselves when we kill the flea in fear of its sting or in fear of contagion with the disease which it may carry and which may be calamitous to us as well as to the community in which we live. Following that reasoning, we should not be surprised if injustice is imputed to ourselves when we break up and dissolve the stones in our liver or kidney in fear of the pain or discomfort which such stones bring, or when we cut off a member or organ of our body in fear of its disease spreading to the rest of the body and bringing about its death. If we do not kill the flea, break up the stone, or cut off the member or organ, and, in consequence, we suffer pain, contagion, calamity, or death, we blame only ourselves on the grounds that the road to cure was wide open.

But so is the road of repentence for the guilty. It is only the ignorant who submit to pain and misery in the belief that it has been predetermined for them. This kind of submission is nothing short of stupidity and naivete on their part. But we do kill the flea, break and remove the stone, and cut off the sick organ and yet consider all this perfect justice when it is predetermined in the matter of the cosmos that the flea shall sting and thus carry contagion to man, that the stone shall disturb the organ and cause it to malfunction, that the sick organ shall communicate its sickness to the whole body and thus bring about death. How do we who make such judgments feel so certain of their validity and truth, and yet fail to recognize the implied limitation of justice to our own person and its non-extension to the human community as a whole? Indeed, how do we choose to ignore the cosmos as a whole, as it really is? To do so is an unjustified piece of idiocy and stupidity, a case of extreme narrowmindedness and low intelligence.

Good Works Are Acts of Worship

And what is the flea, the stone, or man himself when compared to the large universe? Indeed, what is humanity itself in this regard? The universe is so great that our mind, incapable of imagining it, turns to such concepts as eternity, infinity, and the like in order to give us an incomplete picture of it, a picture as incomplete as our knowledge is little. Our knowledge is indeed limited, but despite its limitation, it is still great enough to guide us to the Divine pattern in the universe, and to understand that divine pattern as orderly, immutable, and determined. Allah has given us faculties of knowledge, hearing, sight, and a heart that we may learn with them the creative work of His own hand and the patterns He has imbedded in the cosmos. Such knowledge is prerequisite to religious feeling and thinking. We must know Allah and know His work if we are to praise Him, to thank Him, and to do the good which He commands. To do the good in conviction or ***imān*** is the noblest form of worship that any rational creature can offer to Allah.

Death, Conclusion, and Beginning of Life

As for death, it is the end of one life and the beginning of another. Consequently, it is feared only by those who deny the other life or fear it on account of their ill conduct in this life. Such men never wish for death because they know what awaits them. Those who wish for death sincerely and fearlessly are the true believers, the truly convinced, and the doers of good deeds in the world.

Allah the Almighty says:

﴿ ٱلَّذِى خَلَقَ ٱلْمَوْتَ وَٱلْحَيَوٰةَ لِيَبْلُوَكُمْ أَيُّكُمْ أَحْسَنُ عَمَلًا ۚ وَهُوَ ٱلْعَزِيزُ ٱلْغَفُورُ ﴿٢﴾ ﴾ سورة المُلك آية ٢

(He Who created Death and Life, that He may try which of you is best in deed: and He is the Exalted in Might, Oft-Forgiving) (Al-Mulk: 2)

Further, addressing His Prophet (P.B.U.H), Allah said:

﴿ وَمَا جَعَلْنَا لِبَشَرٍ مِّن قَبْلِكَ ٱلْخُلْدَ ۖ أَفَإِيْن مِّتَّ فَهُمُ ٱلْخَـٰلِدُونَ ﴿٣٤﴾ كُلُّ نَفْسٍ ذَآئِقَةُ ٱلْمَوْتِ ۗ وَنَبْلُوكُم بِٱلشَّرِّ وَٱلْخَيْرِ فِتْنَةً ۖ وَإِلَيْنَا تُرْجَعُونَ ﴿٣٥﴾ ﴾ سورة الأنبياء الآيتان ٣٤-٣٥

(We granted not to any man before you permanent life (here): if then you should die, would they live permanently? Every soul shall have a taste of death: and We test you by evil and by good by way of trial. To Us must you return.) (Al-Anbiyaa: 34-35)

Further, Allah says:

﴿ مَثَلُ ٱلَّذِينَ حُمِّلُوا۟ ٱلتَّوْرَىٰةَ ثُمَّ لَمْ يَحْمِلُوهَا كَمَثَلِ ٱلْحِمَارِ يَحْمِلُ أَسْفَارًۢا ۚ بِئْسَ مَثَلُ ٱلْقَوْمِ ٱلَّذِينَ كَذَّبُوا۟ بِـَٔايَـٰتِ ٱللَّهِ ۚ وَٱللَّهُ لَا يَهْدِى ٱلْقَوْمَ ٱلظَّـٰلِمِينَ ﴿٥﴾ قُلْ يَـٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ هَادُوٓا۟ إِن زَعَمْتُمْ أَنَّكُمْ أَوْلِيَآءُ لِلَّهِ مِن دُونِ ٱلنَّاسِ فَتَمَنَّوُا۟ ٱلْمَوْتَ إِن كُنتُمْ صَـٰدِقِينَ ﴿٦﴾ وَلَا

﴿ يَتَمَنَّوْنَهُۥٓ أَبَدًۢا بِمَا قَدَّمَتْ أَيْدِيهِمْ ۚ وَٱللَّهُ عَلِيمٌۢ بِٱلظَّٰلِمِينَ ﴿٧﴾ ﴾

سورة الجمعة الآيات ٥-٧

(The similitude of those who were entrusted with the (obligations of the) Tawrah, but who subsequently failed in those (obligations), is that of a donkey which carries huge tomes (but understands them not). Evil is the similitude of people who falsify the Signs of Allah: and Allah guides not people who do wrong. Say: "O you of Jewry! If you think that you are friends to Allah, to the exclusion of (other) men, then express your desire for Death, if you are truthful!" But never will they express their desire (for Death), because of the (deeds) their hands have sent on before them! And Allah knows well those that do wrong!) (Al-Jumu'ah: 5-7)

Allah also says,

﴿ وَهُوَ ٱلَّذِى يَتَوَفَّىٰكُم بِٱلَّيْلِ وَيَعْلَمُ مَا جَرَحْتُم بِٱلنَّهَارِ ثُمَّ يَبْعَثُكُمْ فِيهِ لِيُقْضَىٰٓ أَجَلٌ مُّسَمًّى ۖ ثُمَّ إِلَيْهِ مَرْجِعُكُمْ ثُمَّ يُنَبِّئُكُم بِمَا كُنتُمْ تَعْمَلُونَ ﴿٦٠﴾ ﴾ سورة الأنعام آية ٦٠

(It is He Who takes your souls by night, and has knowledge of all that you have done by day: by day He raise you up again: that a term appointed be fulfilled. in the end unto Him will be your return: then will He show you the truth of all that you did.) (Al-An'am: 60)

These verses are extremely emphatic in their rejection of the Orientalists' claim that Islamic determinism implies immoboli-

zation and unconcern for work and acquisition. Allah created life and death that men may prove who among them is the better worker of deeds. The theater of human achievement is this life; reward and punishment come after death. If men do not work, if they do not strike out into the earth and seek therein Allah's bounty, if they do not earn and hence do not give in charity of that which Allah has provided for them, nor perform any good to others, however little their means may be, they have disobeyed Allah. It is no excuse for them that they have nothing to give, for their duty is to go out and earn. Failure to perform one duty constitutes no justification of their failure to perform another. On the contrary, those who earn and give are the more righteous in Allah's sight and the more deserving of rewards in the other world. Through good and evil works Allah gives us the chance to prove ourselves. Upon us devolves the duty of rationally distinguishing between them. Not an atom's weight of good nor an atom's weight of evil done in this world will be lost on the Day of Judgment. If nothing befalls us except what has been predetermined by Allah, we should concern ourselves all the more to discern the good that we may realize it in the world. It makes no difference whatever whether Allah chooses to terminate our lives at the prime of youth, vitality, wisdom, and glory, or at old age when we become senile and lapse into childish ignorance. The measure of a life is certainly not the number of years one lives, but the good works which one does that nothing can obliterate. Those who die in the cause of Allah are alive with their Lord, and they are alive among us inasmuch as we continue to remember them. Many are the men who have written their names indelibly on history because they dedicated themselves to the good. Among us, surely, they are still alive, even though they may have died hundreds of years ago.

"And when their term arrives, men shall meet their death at its prescribed hour, neither before nor after."""" This, indeed, is the truth. It alone accords with the pattern of the universe. Man has

an hour which he cannot outlive, just as the sun and the moon have their terms and their eclipse always occurs according to law, without fail. It is more likely that man's awareness that his life will terminate will incite him to hasten the performance of good deeds and to exert all possible effort. Moreover, the fact that man does not know when his hour will strike will stir his anxiety enough to prepare for that eventuality. Everyday we witness new evidence that man's hour is determined and, when it strikes, inevitable. Some people die suddenly without apparent reason; others fall sick and fight for their lives for decades until they reach a decrepit old age. A number of medical men today claim that the agent which brings about man's death is innate to him and that the period this agent requires to achieve its objective would not be impossible to calculate if the agent itself could be isolated and identified a problem of no little difficulty though not impossible. Allah, who is omniscient, knows the hour of every man by reason of the immutable and eternal pattern he has imbedded in the cosmos as a whole.

Prophets Are Always Folkmen

It is the method of His mercy—May He be adored—that He will inflict no punishment until He has sent a prophet to guide men to the truth and to show them the path to the good. If Allah were to punish men for the injustices they commit, immediately upon their commission of them, no creature would be left alive on earth. But He defers judgment to a future but definite term in order to give them a chance to listen to the Prophet (P.B.U.H), to follow his guidance, and to resist the appeal of lowly life. The prophets whom Allah has sent were neither royal nor wealthy. The belonged neither to the rank of the great and glorious nor to that of the men of science. Rather He has chosen His prophets from among the populace. Ibrahim was a carpenter, and so was

as his father. Jesus was a carpenter in Nazareth. Many others were shepherds, and so was the Seal and last of them, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) Allah chooses His prophets from among the populace in order to teach that the truth is not the exclusive monopoly of the rich or the strong but is available to whosoever seeks it for its own sake and for its own sake alone. The eternal truth is that man does not fulfill his ***iman*** until he has desired for his fellow man that which he has loved for himself, and has acted and lived in accordance with the principle. "The worthier among you in the sight of Allah is the more pious, the more virtuous. . . . Work and realize the good, for Allah will reckon your achievement" and you will be given exactly what you have earned." The great truth is that Allah is, and that there is no God but Allah.

Death is the terminus of one life and the commencement of another. It is the terminus of this life and the beginning of the life beyond. We know but little about this life, namely, that which is accessible to our senses, that to which our reason leads us, and that which our intuitive faculties enable us to behold. As for the life beyond, we do not know anything about it except what Allah has revealed to us. Of the patterns of the cosmos, many are not given to us that are known to the Omniscient, the Great and Glorious God Who sees all. Sufficient unto us therefore is what Allah related in His Holy Book concerning the life beyond. He told us that it is the House of Judgment, of Reward and Punishment. Let us then prepare ourselves in this life by our deeds and our resolution to take our affairs into our own hands. Let us put our trust in Allah and await His just reward. What lies beyond these considerations belongs to Allah alone.

After all this, will Washington Irving, and the Orientalists and non-Orientalists who follow in his footsteps, realize how deeply erroneous is their understanding of the determinism of Islam? Our foregoing discussion has been limited to what the Holy Qur'ān has said on the matter. That is precisely because we

do not wish to open a controversy by bringing in the opinions of the Sūfis, the ***mntakallimūn,*** the philosophers, and other Muslim schools. Irving is in deep error when he claims that Divine judgment, providence, and man's final hour were all given in those Qur'ānic passages that were revealed after the Battle of Uhud and the martyrdom of Hamzah. Actually, many of the verses that we have quoted in this discussion are Makkan and were revealed before the Hijrah and before any battles were fought by the Muslims. As a matter of fact, Irving and his like fall into error because they fail to give adequate scientific consideration to such an important and grave problem as determinism. They understand Islam under categories which accord with their Christian or Western inclinations and prejudices, and then they construct a patchwork of so-called evidence to prove their prejudice, thinking that they can really convince their readers and hoping that no one will take to task their argument and analyze their reasoning.

The Philosophic Value of Islamic Determinism

Had the Orientalists understood Islamic determinism in the manner we have described, they would have appreciated its philosophic worth and profound value. For Islamic determinism regards life in a manner coherent with the most advanced, precise, philosophical, and scientific theories which human thought has achieved in its long and progressive history. The Islamic philosophic idea is synthetic. It does not exclude scientific determinism, nor does it deny the world as will and idea or the doctrine of emergent evolution."' Rather, Islamic determinism includes all these views within its system as aspects of the pattern of the cosmos and life. This is not the place to elaborate this point in detail. Nonetheless, we shall try to state it as succinctly and as clearly as possible, hoping that the reader

will agree that the greatness, comprehensiveness, and depth of this idea is comparable with any other theory known or discovered until now, and that it leaves the door wide open for any great advance human thought may achieve in the future.

Before we begin our brief statement, two observations are in order and should not be forgotten. First, it is not the intention of this author to contradict any Christian theory. The Revelation of Jesus has been confirmed by Islam, as we have had many occasions to see in the course of this work. Islam sought to synthesize the prophecies and Divine messages which had gone before and to provide for them a climax and a crowning. As the Gospel substantiates Jesus Christ's claim to his disciples, "Think not that I am come to destroy the law . . . I am not come to destroy but to fulfill, just so the Qur'ān confirmed the Muslim's ***imān*** in Ibrahim, Moses, Jesus, and all the preceding prophets. Islam came as a synthesis of all the previous divine revelations, as a correction and reproof of all the tampering with scripture done by the followers of those prophets. The second point is that the philosophical theory deducible from the Qur'ān has been discovered by others before but in a different way than that which I am following in these pages. I have reached it in the way I have because I have opened myself to the guidance of the Qur'ān and followed a modern scientific method. If Allah has guided me to the truth, to Him belongs the praise and the gratitude. And if I have missed the truth in some of my reasoning, then it is all the more cause to pray for my mistakes to be corrected by men of knowledge. But that too is to praise Allah and to be grateful for His blessing.

The first principle the Qur'ān firmly establishes is that Allah has implanted in the universe immutable patterns and eternal laws. The universe does not only consist of our earth and all that is on it, nor is it limited to all that our senses can reach by way of stars and other heavenly bodies. The universe consists of all that Allah has created, whether sensory or non-sensory, past, present

or future. If we only attempt to imagine Allah's creation, we will realize that our knowledge is indeed small. The space which stands between us and the stars of heaven, electricity which fills this space as well as our earth, the great vastness of space which separates us from the sun and the stars and other systems of heavenly bodies yet farther than the sun and separated from us by thousands of light years, and the infinity of space lying still beyond these which is beyond our imagination but known to Allah all this runs according to changeless and immutable laws. All that we have scientifically known about creation is still very scant: in it the actual has been mixed up with the imaginary. Indeed, the real component of our so-called knowledge is little by comparison with the fictitious. However, it constitutes all that we genuinely know of the universe and serves as foundation for what we call the laws of the universe and of life, and puts a critical brake on our overhasty will to generalize. If, for a moment, we were to lift this brake, our imagination would seek to encompass the whole and the result would be the greatest flowering of science fiction. Supposing, for instance, that the inhabitants of Mars were to build a broadcasting station of a force of one hundred million kilowatts in order to bring to us, the inhabitants of the earth, details of what was taking place on their planet and show it to us by means of television. Would it then be possible for man on earth to restrain his imagination, considering that Mars is not the most distant of the planets nor the most difficult with which to have communication?

Everything in this vast universe, of which we know so little, exerts some influence on our world and everything it contains. If any one of these heavenly bodies were to change its course or structure in some measure, however little, the pattern of our universe would be equally affected by such a change, and our own short and insignificant life that is already determined by our environment would equally be affected. Naturally, our life is more deeply affected by the greater cosmic forces and changes;

even so, in suffering their effects, we may achieve the good as well as its opposite. The final result is not only a function of the influences we suffer, but of our preparation for receiving such influences and our mastery of ourselves in disposing of their effects. Many an identical pattern has determined many people in different ways, propelling some to good, others to evil, with all the variant . degrees between them. In this life, good and evil are the effects of a dialectical relation between the elements and factors of the cosmos and the human soul. Thus, both good and evil may be said to result from the immutable pattern of the cosmos and follow necessarily from its existence, just as the positive and the negative are necessary implications of the existence of electricity, and microbes and germs are necessary implications of human bodily life.

Nature of Good and Evil

Nothing, therefore, is evil in itself or good in itself but is so in relation to the purpose which it serves and the consequences which it brings about. What is sometimes regarded as evil may at other times be absolutely necessary, or absolutely good. Many of the devices that in war time serve to annihilate millions of humans and destroy man's greatest monuments may during peace furnish the greatest advantages. Dynamite, for instance, is absolutely necessary for the construction of tunnels, of railways, and for the discovery of mines and the realization of their priceless treasures. Even poison gas that hostile nations hurl at one another in the most shameful and calamitously irresponsible acts of war can be put to many advantageous uses during peace such as the use of chlorine gas to purify water and to detect other harmful and dangerous gases.

Men have always been tempted to think that some insects, birds, and animals are absolutely useless. Study and research

have changed these prejudices by showing the good purpose each of these species serves. Indeed, some countries have even promulgated legislation for the protection of these species in appreciation of the service they render to mankind. The zoologists have observed that animals can live in peace with their environments as long as their environments do not interfere with the discharge of their natural functions and that they do not harm other creatures except in self-defense or under alien pressures.

Ethical Nature of Human Deeds

As for us humans, our deeds are likewise neither good nor evil in themselves but have value only with reference to the purpose that they serve and the consequence that they achieve. Is not homicide a crime and hence forbidden? Nonetheless, Allah says,

﴿ وَلَا تَقْتُلُوا۟ ٱلنَّفْسَ ٱلَّتِى حَرَّمَ ٱللَّهُ إِلَّا بِٱلْحَقِّ ﴿١٥١﴾ ﴾

سورة الأنعام آية ١٥١

(take not life, which Allah hath made sacred, except by way of justice and law) ((Al-An'am: 151)

Killing by right, therefore, is morally unassailable.

Allah said,

﴿ وَلَكُمْ فِى ٱلْقِصَاصِ حَيَوٰةٌ يَـٰٓأُو۟لِى ٱلْأَلْبَـٰبِ ﴿١٧٩﴾ ﴾

سورة البقرة آية ١٧٩

(In the Law of Equality there is (saving of) Life to you, O

you men of understanding) (Al-Baqarah: 179)

The executioner who kills the condemned convict, the man who kills another in self-defense, the soldier who kills in defending his homeland, and the believer who kills resisting those who would force him to abjure his faith, all these are guilty of neither disobedience nor crime when they commit homicide. They are fulfilling a Divine duty imposed upon them by Allah and are deserving of righteous merit. What is true of homicide may also be true of many other deeds of men, as far as good and evil are concerned. The scientist who discovers a destructive force and the technologist who produces the instruments with which to deliver it, whether for the purpose of defending the homeland or for peacetime use, indeed every human operation on earth none of these is good or evil in itself, but only in reference to the purpose it seeks to realize and the actual consequence it brings about.

The Gateway of Repentance

Such is the will of Allah and His pattern for the universe. Since Allah created men with different endowments and hence with varying preparation for understanding this pattern, some men exhaust all their energies usufructing and exploiting the very spot of the environment in which they are born and in which they grow. Some men are endowed with technological skills, others are endowed with faculties necessary for the professions, the arts and the sciences all of which together are necessary if man is to be guided to the Divine pattern. Since knowledge of the Divine pattern is absolutely necessary for man if he is to lead a life of righteousness, Allah has granted to some individuals the gift of prophethood. He has selected some to convey His message to men, to show them the good and the evil.

To others, he has granted the faculties with which to pursue science and logic that they may, as heirs to the Prophet (P.B.U.H), guide mankind to what it ought to do and not to do. Moreover, Allah has endowed every man with the necessary intellectual and emotional faculties for understanding and grasping the teachings thus offered, for disciplining himself in truth and wisdom and fulfilling in life Allah's imperative: in short, for doing good and avoiding evil. If, all this notwithstanding, some men fail to understand and commit evil, and if the community punishes them for their misdeeds in order to safeguard itself against their harm, this need not hinder their repentence and return to the straight path. Whoever commits a misdeed in ignorance or weakness, corrects himself, changes his orientation, and returns to Allah obedient and repentant, Allah will surely forgive and accept. Hence, the criminal or author of any misdeed ought to learn from the wisdom of the past in order to purify himself: he ought to use this wisdom to enable himself to be rehabilitated. Allah, the Merciful and Forgiving, will accept his repentance.

This presentation of the moral issue of human life has the merit of synthesizing many philosophical views hitherto deemed beyond conciliation. It clearly recognizes a purposive, efficacious will in all that is. "All being," Allah says,

﴿ إِنَّمَآ أَمْرُهُۥٓ إِذَآ أَرَادَ شَيْـًٔا أَن يَقُولَ لَهُۥ كُن فَيَكُونُ ﴿٨٢﴾ ﴾

سورة يس آية ٨٢

(Verily, when He intends a thing, His Command is, Be, and it is!) (Ya-Sin: 82)

It regards the universe as inclusive of all that is perceivable by sense as well as that which is not so perceivable and as subject to immutable natural laws that, despite the limitation of

our capacities, are still discoverable by rational effort, the more so the more we exert ourselves in their study and pursuit. Moreover, it regards the universe as one whose foundation is the good. Though evil is ubiquitous and oft seems to prevail, our view regards the constant victory of good over evil as constitutive of the universe's emergent evolution, the progressive perfection the world has so far achieved through its long history.

Man's Spiritual Development in life

The reader will recognize that our presentation assumes human progress toward perfection, and regards it as the ideal of the highest philosophical system possible. Furthermore, the Qur'ān regards spiritual development as the central principle of Allah's creation of the earth and all that is in it.

﴿ إِنَّ رَبَّكُمُ ٱللَّهُ ٱلَّذِى خَلَقَ ٱلسَّمَـٰوَٰتِ وَٱلْأَرْضَ فِى سِتَّةِ أَيَّامٍ ثُمَّ ٱسْتَوَىٰ عَلَى ٱلْعَرْشِ ﴾ سورة يونس آية ٣

(Verily your Lord is Allah, Who created the heavens and the earth in six Days, then He established Himself on the Throne) (Yunus: 3)

Were these six days equivalent to our days on earth? Or were they such that

﴿ وَإِنَّ يَوْمًا عِندَ رَبِّكَ كَأَلْفِ سَنَةٍ مِّمَّا تَعُدُّونَ ﴾

سورة الحج آية ٤٧

(Verily a Day in the sight of your Lord is like a thousand years of your reckoning.) (Al-Hajj: 47)

This is not the place to discuss whether such statements imply a theory of evolution, or whether the Qur'ān regards evolution as the law of the cosmos. Further, it asserts that Allah created Adam and Eve and asked the angels to serve them and that all angels did so except Satan who was not moved by the fact that Allah had told Adam all the names. Allah said:

﴿ وَيَٰٓـَٔادَمُ ٱسۡكُنۡ أَنتَ وَزَوۡجُكَ ٱلۡجَنَّةَ فَكُلَا مِنۡ حَيۡثُ شِئۡتُمَا وَلَا تَقۡرَبَا هَٰذِهِ ٱلشَّجَرَةَ فَتَكُونَا مِنَ ٱلظَّٰلِمِينَ ﴿١٩﴾ فَوَسۡوَسَ لَهُمَا ٱلشَّيۡطَٰنُ لِيُبۡدِيَ لَهُمَا مَا وُۥرِيَ عَنۡهُمَا مِن سَوۡءَٰتِهِمَا وَقَالَ مَا نَهَىٰكُمَا رَبُّكُمَا عَنۡ هَٰذِهِ ٱلشَّجَرَةِ إِلَّآ أَن تَكُونَا مَلَكَيۡنِ أَوۡ تَكُونَا مِنَ ٱلۡخَٰلِدِينَ ﴿٢٠﴾ وَقَاسَمَهُمَآ إِنِّي لَكُمَا لَمِنَ ٱلنَّٰصِحِينَ ﴿٢١﴾ فَدَلَّىٰهُمَا بِغُرُورٖۚ فَلَمَّا ذَاقَا ٱلشَّجَرَةَ بَدَتۡ لَهُمَا سَوۡءَٰتُهُمَا وَطَفِقَا يَخۡصِفَانِ عَلَيۡهِمَا مِن وَرَقِ ٱلۡجَنَّةِۖ وَنَادَىٰهُمَا رَبُّهُمَآ أَلَمۡ أَنۡهَكُمَا عَن تِلۡكُمَا ٱلشَّجَرَةِ وَأَقُل لَّكُمَآ إِنَّ ٱلشَّيۡطَٰنَ لَكُمَا عَدُوّٞ مُّبِينٞ ﴿٢٢﴾ قَالَا رَبَّنَا ظَلَمۡنَآ أَنفُسَنَا وَإِن لَّمۡ تَغۡفِرۡ لَنَا وَتَرۡحَمۡنَا لَنَكُونَنَّ مِنَ ٱلۡخَٰسِرِينَ ﴿٢٣﴾ قَالَ ٱهۡبِطُواْ بَعۡضُكُمۡ لِبَعۡضٍ عَدُوّٞۖ وَلَكُمۡ فِي ٱلۡأَرۡضِ مُسۡتَقَرّٞ وَمَتَٰعٌ إِلَىٰ حِينٖ ﴿٢٤﴾ قَالَ فِيهَا تَحۡيَوۡنَ وَفِيهَا تَمُوتُونَ وَمِنۡهَا تُخۡرَجُونَ ﴿٢٥﴾ يَٰبَنِيٓ

ءَادَمَ قَدْ أَنزَلْنَا عَلَيْكُمْ لِبَاسًا يُوَٰرِى سَوْءَٰتِكُمْ وَرِيشًا ۖ وَلِبَاسُ ٱلتَّقْوَىٰ
ذَٰلِكَ خَيْرٌ ۚ ذَٰلِكَ مِنْ ءَايَٰتِ ٱللَّهِ لَعَلَّهُمْ يَذَّكَّرُونَ ﴿٢٦﴾ يَٰبَنِىٓ ءَادَمَ لَا
يَفْتِنَنَّكُمُ ٱلشَّيْطَٰنُ كَمَآ أَخْرَجَ أَبَوَيْكُم مِّنَ ٱلْجَنَّةِ يَنزِعُ عَنْهُمَا
لِبَاسَهُمَا لِيُرِيَهُمَا سَوْءَٰتِهِمَآ ۗ إِنَّهُۥ يَرَىٰكُمْ هُوَ وَقَبِيلُهُۥ مِنْ حَيْثُ لَا
تَرَوْنَهُمْ ۗ إِنَّا جَعَلْنَا ٱلشَّيَٰطِينَ أَوْلِيَآءَ لِلَّذِينَ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ ﴿٢٧﴾ ﴾ سورة
الأعراف الآيات ١٩-٢٧

(O Adam! dwell and your wife in the Garden, and enjoy (its good things) as you wish: but approach not this tree, lest you become of the unjust. "Then began Satan to whisper suggestions to them, in order to reveal to them their shame that was hidden from them (before): he said: "Your Lord only forbade you this tree, lest you should become angels or such beings as live forever." And he swore to them both, that he was their sincere adviser. So by deceit he brought about their fall: when they tasted of the tree, their shameful parts became manifest to them, and they began to sew together the leaves of the Garden over their bodies. And their Lord called unto them: "Did I not forbid you that tree, and tell you that Satan was an avowed enemy unto you?" They said: "Our Lord! we have wronged our own souls: if You forgive us not and bestow not upon us Your Mercy, we shall certainly be lost." (Allah) said: "Get down, with enmity between yourselves. On earth will be your dwelling-place and your means of livelihood for a time." He said: "Therein shall you live, and therein shall you die; but from it shall you be taken out (at last)." O Children of Adam! We have bestowed raiment upon you to

cover your shame, as well as to be an adornment to you. But the raiment of righteousness, that is the best. Such are among the Signs of Allah, that they may receive admonition! O Children of Adam! let not Satan seduce you, in the same manner as he got your parents out of the Garden, stripping them of their raiment, to expose their shame: for he and his tribe see you from a position where you cannot see them: We made the Satans friends (only) to those without Faith.)

(Al-A'raf:19-27)

Cruelty and prejudice, strife and competition characterize the first attempts of human life on earth. Allah said:

﴿ ۞ وَٱتۡلُ عَلَيۡهِمۡ نَبَأَ ٱبۡنَيۡ ءَادَمَ بِٱلۡحَقِّ إِذۡ قَرَّبَا قُرۡبَانٗا فَتُقُبِّلَ مِنۡ
أَحَدِهِمَا وَلَمۡ يُتَقَبَّلۡ مِنَ ٱلۡأٓخَرِ قَالَ لَأَقۡتُلَنَّكَۖ قَالَ إِنَّمَا يَتَقَبَّلُ ٱللَّهُ
مِنَ ٱلۡمُتَّقِينَ ٢٧ لَئِنۢ بَسَطتَ إِلَيَّ يَدَكَ لِتَقۡتُلَنِي مَآ أَنَا۠ بِبَاسِطٖ يَدِيَ
إِلَيۡكَ لِأَقۡتُلَكَۖ إِنِّيٓ أَخَافُ ٱللَّهَ رَبَّ ٱلۡعَٰلَمِينَ ٢٨ إِنِّيٓ أُرِيدُ أَن تَبُوٓأَ
بِإِثۡمِي وَإِثۡمِكَ فَتَكُونَ مِنۡ أَصۡحَٰبِ ٱلنَّارِۚ وَذَٰلِكَ جَزَٰٓؤُاْ ٱلظَّٰلِمِينَ ٢٩
فَطَوَّعَتۡ لَهُۥ نَفۡسُهُۥ قَتۡلَ أَخِيهِ فَقَتَلَهُۥ فَأَصۡبَحَ مِنَ ٱلۡخَٰسِرِينَ ٣٠
فَبَعَثَ ٱللَّهُ غُرَابٗا يَبۡحَثُ فِي ٱلۡأَرۡضِ لِيُرِيَهُۥ كَيۡفَ يُوَٰرِي سَوۡءَةَ أَخِيهِۚ
قَالَ يَٰوَيۡلَتَىٰٓ أَعَجَزۡتُ أَنۡ أَكُونَ مِثۡلَ هَٰذَا ٱلۡغُرَابِ فَأُوَٰرِيَ سَوۡءَةَ أَخِيۖ
فَأَصۡبَحَ مِنَ ٱلنَّٰدِمِينَ ٣١ مِنۡ أَجۡلِ ذَٰلِكَ كَتَبۡنَا عَلَىٰ بَنِيٓ إِسۡرَٰٓءِيلَ

أَنَّهُۥ مَن قَتَلَ نَفْسًۢا بِغَيْرِ نَفْسٍ أَوْ فَسَادٍ فِى ٱلْأَرْضِ فَكَأَنَّمَا قَتَلَ ٱلنَّاسَ جَمِيعًا وَمَنْ أَحْيَاهَا فَكَأَنَّمَآ أَحْيَا ٱلنَّاسَ جَمِيعًا ۚ وَلَقَدْ جَآءَتْهُمْ رُسُلُنَا بِٱلْبَيِّنَٰتِ ثُمَّ إِنَّ كَثِيرًا مِّنْهُم بَعْدَ ذَٰلِكَ فِى ٱلْأَرْضِ لَمُسْرِفُونَ ﴿٣٢﴾ سورة المائدة الآيات ٢٧-٣٢

(Recite to them the truth of the story of the two sons of Adam. Behold! they each presented a sacrifice (to Allah): it was accepted from one, but not from the other. Said the latter: "Be sure I will slay you." "Surely," said the former, "Allah does accept of the sacrifice of those who are righteous. "If you do stretch your hand against me, to slay me, it is not for me to stretch my hand against you to slay thee: for I do fear Allah, the Cherisher of the Worlds. "For me, I intend to let you draw on yourself my sin as well as yours, for you will be among the Companions of the Fire, and that is the reward of those who do wrong." The (selfish) soul of the other led him to the murder of his brother: he murdered him, and became (himself) one of the lost ones. Then Allah sent a raven, who scratched the ground, to show him how to hide the naked of his brother. "Woe is me!" said he; "Was I not even able to be as this raven, and to hide the naked body of my brother?" Then he became full of regrets. On that account: We ordained for the Children of Israel that if anyone slew a person - unless it be for murder or for spreading mischief in the land - it would be as if he slew the whole people: and if any one saved a life, it would be as if he saved the life of the whole people. Then although there came to them Our Messengers with Clear Signs, Yet, even after that, many of

them continued to commit excesses in the land.) (Al-Ma'idah:27-32)

Jealousy, cruelty, resentment, and hostility are all amply evident in the story of this fratricide. The righteous victim, on the other hand, did not respond with forgiveness and pardon when his brother threatened to kill him. Rather, his response was that he wished to have him carry the double burden of his own misdeeds and of the murder he was contemplating and thus earn the punishment of hell. Undoubtedly, the man spoke in concert with human nature and its overwhelming inclination to seek to punish evil rather than magnanimously to forgive it.

The children of Adam multiplied and spread over the earth. Allah sent them prophets to remind and warn them of Him. But they persisted in going astray: their spiritual life was dead, and their minds utterly blocked to the truth.

﴿ وَلَقَدْ أَرْسَلْنَا نُوحًا إِلَىٰ قَوْمِهِۦٓ إِنِّى لَكُمْ نَذِيرٌ مُّبِينٌ ﴿٢٥﴾ أَن لَّا تَعْبُدُوٓا۟ إِلَّا ٱللَّهَ ۖ إِنِّىٓ أَخَافُ عَلَيْكُمْ عَذَابَ يَوْمٍ أَلِيمٍ ﴿٢٦﴾ ﴾

سورة هود الآيتان ٢٥-٢٦

(We sent Noah to his People (with a mission): "I have come to you with a Clear Warner "That you serve none but Allah: verily I do fear for you the punishment of a Grievous Day.") (Hud:25-26)

But his people paid him little heed. Following Noah, many prophets came and many Divine messages were conveyed, all calling to the worship of Allah alone. Gradually stagnation became the rule, and men's minds became utterly closed to the Divine call. Indeed, they took the creatures of the world for

Gods: and whenever a prophet was sent to them by their Lord, they either belied or killed him. Nonetheless, the stagnation of men was repeatedly shaken by prophets, sent from Allah, who planted good seeds. Although these were slow to grow, they were not without significant effects; for, is truth ever wholly lost? If men happen to be so vain as to avoid the message of truth or to ridicule its conveyor, they will still ponder that message when they are alone and consider what it says. At any rate, those who have apprehended the Divine messages have always been few, and these few have often been guilty of false pride.

In ancient Egypt, the priesthood knew and believed the monotheistic truth, but they taught the people something else and multiplied for them their gods. They regarded this practice as necessary for safeguarding their authority and glory. So attached were they to their own powers that they opposed Moses and his brother Aaron's calling them to Allah and their seeking Pharaoh's permission for the Children of Israel to follow them. Further, the Qur'ān relates the stories of the prophets who followed one another across the centuries while the great majorities of their people persisted in their misguidance. In the Qur'ānic accounts of the prophets of the past, one significant point ought to be underlined. First, however, we must recall the history of Moses and Jesus and the subsequent history of Muhammad (P.B.U.H)

The Judgment of Reason and Belief In Miracles

The point to be noted is the separation of, or what seems to be the discrepancy between, reason and its logique on one hand, and faith built upon acceptance of miracles and extraordinary events on the other. Allah confirmed every one of His prophets with some miracle in order to enable him to win the confidence of his people. However, only a few men believed in their

prophets or took them seriously. Men's minds were still too undeveloped to understand that Allah is the Creator of everything, that He is One, that He is the just Lord of the universe, and that there is no God but Allah. Before Allah chose to send Moses, the latter had run away from Egypt in fear and found security in the desert with the tribe of Midyan into which he also married. Before Allah permitted him to return,

﴿ ۞ فَلَمَّا قَضَىٰ مُوسَى ٱلْأَجَلَ وَسَارَ بِأَهْلِهِۦٓ ءَانَسَ مِن جَانِبِ
ٱلطُّورِ نَارًا قَالَ لِأَهْلِهِ ٱمْكُثُوٓا۟ إِنِّىٓ ءَانَسْتُ نَارًا لَّعَلِّىٓ ءَاتِيكُم مِّنْهَا بِخَبَرٍ
أَوْ جَذْوَةٍ مِّنَ ٱلنَّارِ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَصْطَلُونَ ﴿٢٩﴾ فَلَمَّآ أَتَىٰهَا نُودِىَ
مِن شَٰطِئِ ٱلْوَادِ ٱلْأَيْمَنِ فِى ٱلْبُقْعَةِ ٱلْمُبَٰرَكَةِ مِنَ ٱلشَّجَرَةِ أَن
يَٰمُوسَىٰٓ إِنِّىٓ أَنَا ٱللَّهُ رَبُّ ٱلْعَٰلَمِينَ ﴿٣٠﴾ وَأَنْ أَلْقِ عَصَاكَ ۖ فَلَمَّا
رَءَاهَا تَهْتَزُّ كَأَنَّهَا جَآنٌّ وَلَّىٰ مُدْبِرًا وَلَمْ يُعَقِّبْ ۚ يَٰمُوسَىٰٓ أَقْبِلْ وَلَا تَخَفْ ۖ
إِنَّكَ مِنَ ٱلْءَامِنِينَ ﴿٣١﴾ ٱسْلُكْ يَدَكَ فِى جَيْبِكَ تَخْرُجْ بَيْضَآءَ مِنْ
غَيْرِ سُوٓءٍ وَٱضْمُمْ إِلَيْكَ جَنَاحَكَ مِنَ ٱلرَّهْبِ ۖ فَذَٰنِكَ بُرْهَٰنَانِ مِن
رَّبِّكَ إِلَىٰ فِرْعَوْنَ وَمَلَإِي۟هِۦٓ ۚ إِنَّهُمْ كَانُوا۟ قَوْمًا فَٰسِقِينَ ﴿٣٢﴾ ﴾

سورة القصص الآيات ٢٩-٣٢

(Now when Moses had fulfilled the term, and was traveling with his family, he perceived a fire in the direction of Mount Tur. He said to his family: "Remain here; I perceive a fire; I hope to bring you from there some information, or a burning firebrand, that you may warm

yourselves." But when he came to the (Fire), a voice was called from the right bank of the valley, from a tree in hallowed ground: "O Moses! verily I am Allah, the Lord of the Worlds.... "Now throw your rod!" But when he saw it moving (of its own accord) as if it had been a snake, he turned back in retreat, and retraced not his steps: "O Moses!" (it was said), "Draw near, and fear not: For you are of those who are secure. "Thrust your hand into your bosom, and it will come forth white without stain (or harm), and draw your hand close to your side (to guard) against fear. Those are the two credentials from your Lord to Pharaoh and his Chiefs: for truly they are a people rebellious and wicked) (Al-Qasas:29-32)

Pharaoh's magician priests did not respond favorably to Moses' call until his rod devoured all their rods. Only then did they prostrate themselves and declare their faith in Allah, the Lord of Aaron, and of Moses. Nonetheless, the Children of Israel persisted in their misguidance. Indeed, they even asked Moses to show them Allah with their own eyes; and as soon as he passed away, they returned to the worship of the calf. Following Moses, their prophets came to call them to Allah, but they killed them unjustly. When they did return to the worship of God, they expected a Messiah who would return to them a political kingdom and the material power with which to rule the world. This series of events is not so far removed from us that it remains lost in the darkness of early history. Barely twenty-five centuries old, this event clearly shows man's preference of selfishness over reason and his desire for material things over the things of spirit.

A few centuries later, Jesus, confirmed by Allah's holy spirit, came calling men to Allah. Since Jesus was a Jew, the Jews first thought of him as their Messiah and expected him to return to the Jews their lost kingdom in the promised land. The hardships they

suffered under Roman rule had made them all the more anxious to achieve such a political kingdom. They waited, however, in order to find out more precisely what Jesus was about. Did Jesus appeal to the logic of reason alone? No. Rather, it was a miracle that opened the road to his persuasion of them. If the Christian stories are not mistaken, it was the miracle of transforming the water into wine at the wedding of Cana that first drew public attention to Jesus. Thereafter came the miracles of the loaves of bread and fishes, of curing the sick, and of resurrecting the dead that made it possible for him to teach the public by appealing to their hearts, feelings, and emotions. Reason and its logic played a very minor role in his teaching. Nonetheless, Jesus proved more successful than his predecessors. He had combined his appeal to feeling, mercy, forgiveness, and love with a call to Allah, devoid of critical evidence and rational proof. Whenever people suspected his cause, Allah permitted him to perform a new miracle and thus regain their loyalty and appreciation. His miracles included the curing of the leper, giving sight to the blind and raising the dead. They produced such a strong appeal among his followers that some of them thought that he was the Son of Allah, and others that he was Allah incarnate coming to expiate the sins of men. This evidence clearly shows that men were not mature enough to comprehend by force of reason alone the supreme truth regarding the Creator May He be adored namely, that Allah is One, Eternal, Unbegotten and Unbegetting, and that nothing is like unto Him.

The Rational Sciences

Long before the times of Moses and Jesus, the science of ancient Egypt as well as its philosophy and law had passed to Greece and Rome, which had then spread their dominion. It was Egypt that contributed to Greek philosophy and literature their

noblest ideas. The new rationalist awakening thus produced, warned and convinced the people that miracles constitute no argument at all. It was in consequence of this that Greek philosophy contributed to the multiplication of Christian doctrines and hence to sectarianism diversification in Egypt, Palestine and al Sham, as we had occasion to see earlier. But it was Allah's pattern that reason shall constitute the apogee of human life, as long as it is not composed of empty logic, not devoid of feeling and spirit, and as long as it martials all these faculties in a synthesized effort to discover the secrets of the universe and achieve intimate knowledge of the cosmic pattern. Thus, it was decreed by Allah that soon the Prophet of Islam (P.B.U.H) would rise to call men to the truth through reason, complemented by feeling and spirit, and that the one miracle of such a gnoseological synthesis should be the Holy Book revealed to His Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H). With Muhammad's Revelation (P.B.U.H) and teaching, Allah completed for men their religion and granted them his blessings. With it, Allah climaxed all prophethood, concluded all revelation, and sealed it. But all this took place only after the prophets' great and continuous effort and the messengers' guiding of mankind in its spiritual deportment until it could reach the height of the Islamic call to faith and conviction in one God alone.

To complement and buttress this new conviction in the Divine "Unicity," the duties discussed in the first part of this conclusion were instituted. All were designed to enable the believer to reach this pinnacle of vision. It is also man's duty always to strive after a vision of Allah's pattern in creation. That is what the Muslims strove to do in the early centuries of their history until they began to decline.

The arguments so far adduced refute the western Orientalists' interpretation of Islamic determinism and the Qur'ānic position on fate and the last hour. They prove without a shadow of doubt that Islam is a religion of striving and activism

in all the theaters of life the spiritual, the scientific, the religious, and the worldly. They prove that God's immutable pattern in the cosmos is that man will get what his own deeds have earned for him and that Allah the Almighty will commit no injustice to anyone. Rather, it is men who commit injustice to themselves. Indeed, men do injustice to themselves when they think that they can achieve Allah's blessing through stagnation and inactivity, through ***tawākul*** or lazy dependence, disguised as ***tawakkul*** or trust in Allah.

Material Wealṭh and Children

Although these arguments have proved this point without a doubt, I am unable to overlook one other argument that I consider extremely important. It is the argument implied in the Divine statement:

﴿ ٱلْمَالُ وَٱلْبَنُونَ زِينَةُ ٱلْحَيَوٰةِ ٱلدُّنْيَا ۖ وَٱلْبَٰقِيَٰتُ ٱلصَّٰلِحَٰتُ خَيْرٌ عِندَ رَبِّكَ ثَوَابًا وَخَيْرٌ أَمَلًا ﴿٤٦﴾ ﴾ سورة الكهف آية ٤٦

(Wealth and sons are allurements of the life of this world; but the things that endure, Good Deeds, are best in the sight of your Lord, as rewards, and best as (the foundation for) hopes.) (Al-Kahf:46)

Nothing in the world incites us to greater exertion, striving, and work than the acquisition of wealth. In its pursuit, most men spend the greatest part of their energies. Indeed, they often outdo themselves. One look at our modern world is sufficient to perceive the strenuous persistence, the hardships, the wars, the revolutions, and the disturbances that occur all for the sake of

wealth. For its sake monarchies become republics, blood is shed, and men lay down their lives. So much for wealth. As for children, they are pieces of our flesh groping the earth in front of us! What hardship will we not gladly bear for their sake! What bitterness will not taste sweet as long as it leads to their security, health and happiness! Every hardship we encounter on the road to their happiness becomes easy; every conflict becomes harmony. And there are men who for the sake of wealth and children would do that which would otherwise be impossible. Indeed, some people are so committed to such a pursuit that they would sacrifice their own happiness and even their lives.

Wealth and children, therefore, do constitute "the joy and ornament" of this world. An ornament is nothing, however, by comparison to the essence. No one would sacrifice the essence for the sake of an ornament except the ignorant and the insane, vain women and deluded youths. Vain women would expose their health to danger that they might appear beautiful for a few hours or less; and deluded youths would squander their wealth that their companions may applaud and acclaim them as masters. Such people are no less mad than those who pursue wealth and children, the ornaments and joy of this life, at the cost of everything else. To repeat, wealth and children do constitute a joy and an ornament. But the essence of life is the doing of righteous deeds which are imperishable. It is for the sake of this imperishable righteousness that we ought to devote the greater part of our effort and striving.

The nobility of purpose served by the last quoted verse of Holy Scripture is truly arresting. What it purports to say is that if it is natural that man spend his effort and blood for the sake of an ornament, he should spend his whole soul and mind for the sake of the essence; that he should make the ornament subject to the essence and, finally, that he should dedicate his own life, his wealth, and his children to the pursuit of this essence which

consists of righteous deeds. For the latter weigh more with Allah. Righteousness is the worthier ideal. Its merit is greater and its promise is nobler. It is the higher hope of mankind.

How did the thinking of Muslims change so radically from this sane, healthy, and clear logic to the very opposite? We referred to this question accidentally in the first part of this conclusion when we discussed the change that the Muslims underwent as result of being conquered by foreigners at the close of the 'Abbasi regime.

Sheikh Mohammad 'Abduh's Views and sayings

In the preface to the second edition we also mentioned how the government changed from being based upon consultation in the earliest period to a sheer contest of power during the Umawi period, and finally to rule by Divine right during the 'Abbāsi period. On this point, let us quote the late professor and leader, Sheikh Mohammad 'Abduh, who wrote in his book, ***Al Islam wa al Nasrdniyyah,*** the following passage:

"The religion of Islam was once purely Arab. Science was once Greek and then became Arab too. Subsequently, one of the 'Abbasi caliphs committed a political mistake when he abused the tolerance of Islamic political theory. Suspecting that an army composed largely of Arabs might readily lend its support to a caliph contender supporting the cause of 'Ali, he sought to build for himself an army of aliens, particularly of Turks and Daylams, whom he thought he could rule by his authority, win with his largesse, and keep loyal to him against all his enemies. Islamic law is tolerant enough to allow the Muslim ruler to take such measures, and it was on this account that Muslim society fell under dominion of foreign elements.

"Thus, an 'Abbāsi caliph sought to secure himself on the

caliph throne and secure that throne for his progeny. He may have done well for himself and his children, but woe to him for what he did to his people and his religion. He increased the number of aliens in his army and appointed aliens to command it. But no sooner had he done so than these soldiers and their captains seized the upperhand, monopolized the political power, and subjected caliph, people, and state to their whims. These were still brutes not yet disciplined by Islam. Their hearts had not yet been sensitized to religious value. Rather, these frontiersmen came to the world of Islam with crudeness, ignorance, and injustice. Islam was for them a cover; little of it penetrated their consciousness, and only the superficial aspects of it influenced their thinking. Many of them even carried their own gods around with them but prayed with the Muslim masses in order to consolidate their power over them. Later, the world of Islam fell prey to the Tatars who held it in subjection for generations and who saw no other impediment to their sovereignty and power than knowledge which would make the people aware of the state of their masters and expose the immorality of their conduct. As a result, they became openly hostile to knowledge and to Islam itself, which promotes knowledge and requires its cultivation as an act of worship. As for knowledge, science, and wisdom, their cultivators were maltreated and most of them denied any assistance or subsidy. They encouraged their own protagonists to introduce themselves into the ranks of the men of knowledge, to wear their gowns, and pretend to belong to their circles. From this position, these protagonists began to teach in the name of religion such doctrines as would make knowledge hateful to the people and cause men to avnid striving for it. Their propaganda posed as piety, for they claimed that their new doctrines were designed but to safeguard the religion. They claimed that the religion was incomplete and they had set out to complete it; that it was diseased and they had set out to cure it; that it was floundering

and they had set out to consolidate it; that it was about to collapse, and they had set out to rescue and support it.

"These newcomers to Islamic leadership wished to imitate some of the pageantry of pagans and Christians, and, therefore, they adopted some of their customs which were inconsistent with Islam. They convinced the ignorant masses that the new practices added glory and aggrandizement to the ritual of Islam. Demagoguery is the resort of the unjust ruler. By recoursing to it, they instituted the celebrations with which we have been plagued. By prescribing the worship of saints and of their own leaders they divided the Muslim community, thus enabling it to fall into complacency and ignorance. They decided that the later generations may never question anything passed down by the former, and they defended this conservatism as a principle of faith precisely in order to freeze man's thinking and to stop deliberation. Throughout the provinces of the Islamic world, they sent their mouthpieces and instructed them to teach such tales, stories, and reports as would convince the masses that public affairs were none of their concern, that all community and state affairs are the jurisdiction of the ruler alone, and that whoever interferes in the ruler's jurisdiction has overstepped the boundaries laid down by the religion. These mouthpieces also taught the masses that corruption, insecurity, hardship, and privation are not the responsibility of the rulers but the fulfillment of prophecies regarding the end of time; that it is futile to seek to change any state, any situation or verdict; that it is salutary to relinquish all responsibilities to Allah and the rulers, and that the Muslim is responsible only for the upkeep of himself and his immediate family. They found support for their claims in the letter of some prophetic, many spurious arid fabricated, traditions which they were quick to exploit for their own purpose, interpreting them only in order to indoctrinate the people with their fictions and delusions. A whole army of such

false teachers spread among the Muslims, and the puppet rulers in every province helped them to spread their poison. They misinterpreted the Islamic doctrine of Divine decree so as to frustrate human will and to choke every striving for action. The peoples' ignorance of their religion, their naiveté, their inclination to the path of least resistance, and their desire to satisfy their passions persuaded the Muslims to accept those lethal superstitions and fables. As a result, the truth fell under the darkness of falsehood, and in the people's minds principles which diametrically contradicted their religion and ran counter to its precepts became the rule of the day and were accepted without hesitation.

"This policy of spreading the darkness of ignorance, injustice, and prejudice is responsible for the corruption of Islam, for mixing the Islamic with the unIslamic in an unholy concoction of faith and superstition. It robbed the Muslim of his will and of the hope which once prompted him to pierce the heavens. It caused him to imitate the despair of the non-Muslims. Most of what goes today under the name of Islam is not Islam at all. It may only have preserved the outer shell of the Islamic ritual of prayer, fasting, and pilgrimage, as well as some sayings which have been, however, perverted by allegorical interpretations. All these sinister accretions and superstitions that found their way into Islam brought about the stagnation that now passes under the name of religion. Accursed be that policy and its men for what they falsely attribute to Allah and His religion. All that is today blameworthy among the Muslims is not of Islam. It is something else which falsely carries that name.

Muslim Views in the Age of Decline

It was this situation, so well analyzed by Sheikh Mohammad

'Abduh, that led to the propagation among the Muslims of contradictory principles which their authors claimed to be Islamic and falsely attributed to the Prophet (P.B.U.H). One of these principles is the doctrine of determinism which later Muslims interpreted in a way which runs counter to the Qur'ānic spirit. In the foregoing pages, we have seen how the Qur'ān understood that doctrine. Departing from that understanding, the advocates of those specious doctrines taught the virtues of surrender and stagnation. They preached that each man's life is not the result of striving and planning but is predetermined so that man cannot affect its outcome. Such is the false determinism which enables the western critics of Islam to impute to Islam that of which it is innocent. Another such principle is the contempt of matter and condemnation of its pursuit. This was the view of the Greek stoics which spread at certain periods among some Muslims despite its contradiction to the whole tenor of the Qur'ānic message expressed in the command, "And do not forget to pursue your share of this world.

Despite its contradiction of the Qur'ān, this principle even produced a large body of literature in the 'Abbāsi period and thereafter. The Qur'ān in fact calls for the reasonable satisfaction of all wants. It does not tolerate self-deprivation any more than it tolerates indulgence and license. And yet, Irving falsely supposes that Islam engulfed the Muslims in luxury, distracted them from self-exertion in war and, indeed, brought the Muslim peoples to the state of decline in which they find themselves today.

Islam and Christianity: A Comparison

The American author contends that Christianity calls men to purity and charity and that it is, on this account, the opposite of what he thinks Islam is. This is not the place to compare Islam and Christianity on this point, because, fundamentally, the two

religions are in agreement. Comparison in this manner would lead to futile controversy and to a profitless competition between Christianity and Islam. However, I do wish to observe that between Jesus- May Allah's blessing be upon him and Christianity, as far as this call to stoicism and asceticism is concerned, there is a clear difference. Jesus was certainly no stoic. His first miracle was the transformation of the water into wine at Cana where he was a guest. Obviously, Jesus had not wished that the people go without drinking wine. Neither did he turn down the invitation of the Pharisees to sit at their lavish banquet, for he did not wish the people to deprive themselves from enjoying the blessings of Allah. Likewise, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) emphasized the need for pursuing one's share of this world. On the other hand, it is true that Jesus used to call the rich to give charitably to the poor and to love the latter in good heart. In this, however, the Qur'ān has given voice to the greatest and most eloquent expression ever known to man. The reader may recall that we have quoted from the Qur'ān in connection with the ***zakat*** and ***sadaqat*** which we discussed earlier. Sufficient for us in reply to Irving and his like to say that the Qur'än has called for charity, temperance, moderation, goodness, and love regarding everything.

"They That Take the Sword..

There remains the last sentence of Washington Irving's statement. It is that by which the West indicts us with that which it had better indict itself, namely, the sword. The crime is indeed that of the western world, not ours. It is its stain of shame, the sinister seed which will finally destroy its false pride and civilization. Irving says: "That the crescent has waned before the cross, and exists in Europe where it was once so mighty, only by the sufferance or rather the jealously of the great Christian

powers, probably ere long to furnish another illustration, that 'they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.'

﴿ وَعَلَى ٱللَّهِ قَصْدُ ٱلسَّبِيلِ ﴾ سورة النحل آية ٩

(Allah alone can show the right path) (Al-Nahl:9)

This verse of the New Testament Irving directs accusingly toward Islam in the name of Christianity. How strange! Perhaps Irving might have had some excuse had he hurled his accusation a hundred or so years ago when the imperialism of the West (as we like to call it) or of Christendom (as Irving likes to call it) had not reached the terrible degree of greed and covetousness, of conquest and aggression by the sword which it has reached today. When Field Marshall Allen by captured Jerusalem in 1918 in the name of the Allies, he made this terrible proclamation standing on the steps of the Dome of the Rock: "Today the Crusades have come to an end." Doctor Peterson Smith, in his book on the life of Jesus, wrote, "This capture of Jerusalem was indeed an eighth Crusade in which Christianity had finally achieved its purpose." And it may even be true to say that the capture of Jerusalem was not a purely Christian effort, but that it was equally the effort of the Jews, who used the Christians in order to realize the old diaspora dream of making the Land of Promise a national home for the Jews.

Islam Has Never Taken Anything by the Sword

"They that take the sword shall perish with the sword." If these words of the New Testament are true at all, and truly applied to any nation, they certainly apply today to the nations of Christian Europe more than any other. Islam did not take the sword and therefore will not be taken with the sword. Rather it is

Christian Europe which has taken the sword throughout the modern period, and it is Christian Europe which gives itself utmost license in the enjoyment of pleasure and comfort which Irving falsely imputes to Islam and to the Muslims. Today, Christian Europe is playing exactly the same role which the Mongols and Tatars played in the past in relation to Islam. The latter had put on the appearance of Islam and conquered its territories without paying any heed to Islamic teaching at all. Jesus's judgment fell rightly upon them as they brought corruption and disintegration to their Muslim subjects. Indeed, Christian Europe stands today even more guilty than those Tatars and Mongols of the past. The countries which the latter conquered quickly entered into Islam as soon as they were able to see its simplicity and greatness. Europe, however, does not conquer in order to spread a faith, nor in order to spread a civilization. What it wants is to colonize; to this end it has made the Christian faith a tool and instrument. That is why the European missions never succeeded, for they were never sincere and their propaganda served ulterior motives. They did not meet with any success at all in the Muslim countries and indeed they never will because the greatness of Islam its simplicity, its rational and scientific character leave no room in the minds of its adherents for any alien religious propaganda at all.

"They that take the sword shall perish with the sword." That is true. If this dictum was once true of the late Muslims who conquered for the sake of conquest and colonization, not in self-defense nor in defense of the faith, it is all the more true of this Christian West which conquers and vanquishes the peoples of the earth in order to colonize and to exploit. As for the early Muslims, during the time of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and of his immediate successors, they did not conquer for the purpose of conquest and colonization but in defense of their faith when it was threatened by Quraysh, Arab tribes, Evantines, and Persians. Throughout their conquests, they never imposed their religion on

anyone, for it was a cardinal principal of their faith that "there shall be no coercion in religion.

Forced by the needs of defense against persistent attack, the Muslims' conquests were never motivated by the will to colonize. The Prophet (P.B.U.H) left the kings of Arabia and her princes on their thrones with their territories, economies, and political structures virtually untouched. In conquering, the Muslims sought the freedom to preach the faith. If the Islamic faith spread, it was simply because it of itself was strong by virtue of the truth which it proclaimed, the universalist nondiscrimination between Arab and non-Arab which it commanded and its adherents practiced, and the strict monotheism by which Islam enabled man to have no master except the one true God. It was because of these innate strengths of the Islamic faith that it spread throughout the earth, just as any genuine truth would spread. When the Tatar latecomers to Islam fought only for the purpose of conquest and took men by the sword, they, too, were soon taken by the sword. But Islam never took anything or anyone by the sword, and no one will take it by the sword. On the contrary, Islam conquered the minds, hearts, and consciences of the people by its innate strength. Consequently, the Muslim people have seen many governments, dictators, and tyrants, none of which has changed their faith and religion in the least. Today, Europe is still the ruler of the Muslim peoples and the tyrannic administrator of their affairs. But her tyranny will not change the Muslims' faith in God. And as she has taken the Muslims by the sword, she cannot and will not escape the destiny of being taken by the sword. Matthew's principle will once more prove true, but this time to mete out to Christian Europe her due.

The Muslim League of Nations

We have said that the Prophet (P.B.U.H) reinstated the

princes and kings to their thrones and kingdoms. Toward the end of the Prophet's life (P.B.U.H) the Arabian Peninsula was truly a league of Arab-Islamic nations. None of them was a colony either of Makkah or of Yathrib. By virtue of their strong faith in Allah, the Arabs were all equal to one another before Him. They acted together like one man against anyone who was against them or sought to sway them away from their religious faith. Up to the age of decline, the Muslim peoples remained a league of nations, and the seat of the caliphate was the headquarters of their league. The caliphate never claimed for itself any authority over the Muslim spirit, nor did it ever monopolize knowledge and the search for enlightenment. No Muslim nation submitted to any spiritual authority except that of Allah. The Muslim capitals were all capitals of science, knowledge, art, and industry. This felicity continued until the Muslims changed their view of Islam, denied its noble principles, violated the brotherhood of the faithful, and forgot that man's faith is never complete until he has desired for his fellow man what he desires for himself. It was then that prejudice did its evil work and destructive contests for power tore up the Muslim brotherhood as the sword became sole judge. But whoever takes with the sword shall be taken by the sword.

After the 15th century, Christian Europe arose to a new life of the spirit which might have brought benefit to all mankind except for the corruption that had quickly found its way to it. Hence, Christianity began to split into many factious. It was in this relatively recent period of its rise that Christian Europe faced a Muslim World that had forgotten its Islam, and took it by the sword. Europe continued to take the Muslim people by the sword, and, indeed, made the sword the sole judge between it and the Muslim people. But when the sword rules, we can then bid farewell to reason, to science, to goodness, to love, to faith, and, indeed, to mankind and to humanity.

It is the rule of the world by the sword which is the cause of

the spiritual and psychic crisis from which the world suffers and groans. Those countries which rule the world by the sword realized this unfortunate truth as a result of World War I. They thus sought to bring peace to the world, and, for this purpose, they established the League of Nations. The whole point of the League of Nations is summed up in this verse of the Qur'an:

﴿ وَإِن طَآئِفَتَانِ مِنَ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ ٱقْتَتَلُوا۟ فَأَصْلِحُوا۟ بَيْنَهُمَا ۖ فَإِنۢ بَغَتْ إِحْدَىٰهُمَا عَلَى ٱلْأُخْرَىٰ فَقَـٰتِلُوا۟ ٱلَّتِى تَبْغِى حَتَّىٰ تَفِىٓءَ إِلَىٰٓ أَمْرِ ٱللَّهِ ۚ فَإِن فَآءَتْ فَأَصْلِحُوا۟ بَيْنَهُمَا بِٱلْعَدْلِ وَأَقْسِطُوٓا۟ ۖ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ يُحِبُّ ٱلْمُقْسِطِينَ ۝٩ إِنَّمَا ٱلْمُؤْمِنُونَ إِخْوَةٌ فَأَصْلِحُوا۟ بَيْنَ أَخَوَيْكُمْ ۚ وَٱتَّقُوا۟ ٱللَّهَ لَعَلَّكُمْ تُرْحَمُونَ ۝١٠ ﴾ سورة الحجرات الآيتان ٩-١٠

(If two parties among the Believers fall into a fight, make peace between them: but if one of them transgresses beyond bounds against the other, then fight ye (all) against the one that transgresses until it complies with the Command of Allah; but if it complies, then make peace between them with justice, and be fair: for Allah loves those who are fair (and just). The Believers are but a single Brotherhood: so make peace and reconciliation between your two (contending) brothers; and fear Allah, that you may receive Mercy.) (Al-Hujurat:9-10)

The Spirit of World Peace Still Missing

Nonetheless, peace did not rule the world after World War I,

for the foundation upon which the dominant civilization is based is that of colonialism, and colonialism is in turn based upon the competition of one nationalism against another and upon domination of the weak by the strong. It is the right of the vanquished people, indeed their first duty, to seek to destroy the yoke of the tyrant. Consequently, colonialism has bred and nurtured the germs of rebellion and war. As long as colonialism is the rule, peace will never be established and wars will be continuous. Colonizing or colonized, the nations of the world will continue to regard one another with suspicion and, in fact, to lie in wait for one another. How then can there be peace? Peace will come to this world only when men everywhere change that which is within themselves; that is to say, when they begin to believe truly in peace, when they base their world views upon peace, and when they agree with one another to defend peace against every attempt at disturbing it.

But all this will happen only when colonialism is no more the basis for world order, when the strong of the earth will regard it as their first duty to come to the assistance of the weak, when the affluent will give to the deprived, when the big will show mercy to the small, and when the more learned will teach the ignorant. Peace will indeed reign over the world when the dominant powers spread knowledge throughout the earth to the end of serving mankind rather than of exploiting them in the name of knowledge or industry or technology. When the whole world comes to believe in this principle and all men come to feel that the earth is their own homeland that they are all brothers of one another, each of them wishing for his brothers that which he wishes for himself then will clemency, tolerance and fellowship grow among them. Then will they address one another in a language different from that in which they speak today; they will trust one another though they may be separated by wide spaces. They will all do the good for the sake of Allah. Then and only then will hatred and resentment dissolve, truth be supreme, peace

rule the world, and Allah be pleased with mankind, and mankind with Him.

World Peace Founded Only on Tolerance

Allah says:

﴿ إِنَّ ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا۟ وَٱلَّذِينَ هَادُوا۟ وَٱلنَّصَـٰرَىٰ وَٱلصَّـٰبِـِٔينَ مَنْ ءَامَنَ بِٱللَّهِ وَٱلْيَوْمِ ٱلْـَٔاخِرِ وَعَمِلَ صَـٰلِحًا فَلَهُمْ أَجْرُهُمْ عِندَ رَبِّهِمْ وَلَا خَوْفٌ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا هُمْ يَحْزَنُونَ ﴿٦٢﴾ ﴾ سورة البقرة آية ٦٢

(Those who believe (in the Qur'an), and those who follow the Jewish (scriptures), and the Christians and the Sabians, any who believe in Allah and the Last Day, and work righteousness, shall have their reward with their Lord; on them shall be no fear, nor shall they grieve.)

(Al-Baqarah:62)

Has the world known any tolerance wider than this? Whoever believes in Allah, in the Day of Judgment, and in doing good works will have his merits with his Lord. No difference separates the believer from those whom the Islamic call has not reached, whether Jews, Christians, or Sabeans.

Allah the Almighty further says:

﴿ وَإِنَّ مِنْ أَهْلِ ٱلْكِتَـٰبِ لَمَن يُؤْمِنُ بِٱللَّهِ وَمَآ أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكُمْ وَمَآ أُنزِلَ إِلَيْهِمْ خَـٰشِعِينَ لِلَّهِ لَا يَشْتَرُونَ بِـَٔايَـٰتِ ٱللَّهِ ثَمَنًا قَلِيلًا ۗ أُو۟لَـٰٓئِكَ

لَهُمْ أَجْرُهُمْ عِندَ رَبِّهِمْ ۗ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ سَرِيعُ ٱلْحِسَابِ ﴿١٩٩﴾

سورة آل عمران آية ١٩٩

(And there are, certainly, among the People of the Book, those who believe in Allah, in the Revelation to you, and in the Revelation to them, bowing in humility to Allah: they will not sell the Signs of Allah for a miserable gain! for them is a reward with their Lord, and Allah is swift in account.) (Al-Imran:199)

How far is all this from our world dominated as it is by western civilization? How far is the tolerance of Islam from the national and religious fanaticisms of the West and all the wars and catastrophes which it has contributed to human history!

The Sublime Life of Muhammad(P.B.U.H)

It is this high and noble spirit of tolerance that should dominate the world if the world is to live in peace and men are to live in happiness. It is this spirit that makes every study of the life of Muhammad (P.B.U.H), to whom Allah revealed these genuine truths, and of every scholarly study undertaken only for the sake of knowledge, capable of achieving a mastery of such cosmic and spiritual principles as will guide humanity to the new civilization it seeks. Every deep research undertaken in such a study will expose secrets many men believed for a long time to be forever closed to scientific investigations, but on which the investigations of psychology have shed illuminating light. The life of Muhammad (P.B.U.H), as we have had occasion to see, is a human life that realized in itself the highest ideals of which man is capable. On this account, the Prophet's life (P.B.U.H) constitutes a good example and true guidance to whosoever

wishes to reach human perfection through faith and the work of virtue. What highness and nobility can compare with that which made the life of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) even before his commission to prophethood the example of truthfulness, dignity and trustworthiness, just as it made that life after the commission to prophethood one long poem of self-sacrifice in the cause of Allah-the cause of truth and goodness, the final end of all prophethood? Muhammad (P.B.U.H) exposed his life to death many times; his people sought to tempt him with wealth, sovereignty, and all things desired by men; but he resisted them all. He remained the best of all men in nobility, ethical virtue, and dedication to the cause of Allah.

This human life of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) attained exalted levels of vision and nobility, of power and magnanimity such as no other life has realized. It was a human life which kept itself in communion with the cosmos from eternity to eternity, and with the Creator of the cosmos by His grace and mercy. Were Muhammad (P.B.U.H) not exactingly truthful in the conveyance of his Lord's message, some thinkers throughout the centuries would have come up with some evidence to this effect, and some principle taught by Muhammad (P.B.U.H) would have been exposed as untrue. But 1,350 years have passed while that which Muhammad (P.B.U.H) conveyed from his Lord continues to be the model of truth and genuine guidance. Sufficient is it to mention in support of this that what Allah revealed to Muhammad (P.B.U.H), to the effect that he was the last of the prophets and messengers of Allah, has never been successfully overthrown by anybody else's claim to be a prophet and a messenger of Allah. Throughout the world during all these centuries many men have achieved the greatest possible heights of power and excellence in all aspects of life. None of them, however, has been given the gift of prophethood, of conveying a message from Allah. Before Muhammad (P.B.U.H), however, the prophets and the messengers were many, each of whom

warned his people that they had gone astray, and each one sought to bring them back to the religion of truth. Yet none of them claimed that he was sent to all men or that he was the last of the prophets. But Muhammad (P.B.U.H) made this claim which was revealed to him by Allah, and the centuries have proved his claim to be true. What Muhammad (P.B.U.H) conveyed was no fabrication but a true report of a Divine message meant to provide guidance and to bring mercy to all mankind.

In conclusion, let me say that the utmost purpose I have hoped my book to achieve is that it may have prepared the road for further researches and studies in these matters. Such researches and studies, we hope, will be wider in scope and deeper in insight than this book. In writing these pages, I have exerted all the effort of which I am capable and explored all the field that my vision could, with Allah's grace, encompass. Allah says:

﴿ لَا يُكَلِّفُ ٱللَّهُ نَفْسًا إِلَّا وُسْعَهَا ۚ لَهَا مَا كَسَبَتْ وَعَلَيْهَا مَا ٱكْتَسَبَتْ ۗ رَبَّنَا لَا تُؤَاخِذْنَآ إِن نَّسِينَآ أَوْ أَخْطَأْنَا ۚ رَبَّنَا وَلَا تَحْمِلْ عَلَيْنَآ إِصْرًا كَمَا حَمَلْتَهُۥ عَلَى ٱلَّذِينَ مِن قَبْلِنَا ۚ رَبَّنَا وَلَا تُحَمِّلْنَا مَا لَا طَاقَةَ لَنَا بِهِۦ ۖ وَٱعْفُ عَنَّا وَٱغْفِرْ لَنَا وَٱرْحَمْنَآ ۚ أَنتَ مَوْلَىٰنَا فَٱنصُرْنَا عَلَى ٱلْقَوْمِ ٱلْكَـٰفِرِينَ ﴿٢٨٦﴾ ﴾ سورة البقرة آية ٢٨٦

(On no soul does Allah place a burden greater than it can bear. It gets every good that it earns, and it suffers every ill that it earns. (Pray:) "Our Lord! Condemn us not if we forget or fall into error; our Lord! Lay not on us a burden like that which you did lay on those before us; our Lord! lay not on us a burden greater than we have strength to bear. Blot out our sins, and grant us forgiveness. Have mercy on us. You are our Protector; grant us over the Unbelievers.) (Al-Baqarah:286)

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